Baalbek-Heliopolis, the Bekaa, and Berytus from 100 BCE to 400 CE

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# Baalbek-Heliopolis, the Bekaa, and Berytus from 100 BCE to 400 CE

*A Landscape Transformed*

*By*

Simone Eid Paturel

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This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

*I would like to dedicate this book to Professor Ted Kaiser*
*My beloved parents*
*My two precious sons Alexandre and Leonard*
*And lastly to Lebanon*

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CHAPTER 1

# Introduction

## 1.1 The Aims of This Monograph

The city of Berytus had a long pre-Roman history, with settlement dating back to the beginning of the Bronze Age. This well-established Hellenistic city (which by the end of the first century BCE was largely independent) was selected as the site for a Roman colonia and coupled with territory covering the northern Bekaa valley. Before the first century BCE, there is precious little evidence for religious architecture at Baalbek or in the Bekaa valley. Yet by the mid-third century, Baalbek-Heliopolis was host to one of the largest religious sanctuaries anywhere in the Roman Empire. During the same time period, at least forty Temples of varying sizes were constructed in the Bekaa valley, covering an area approximately the same size as the English county of Oxfordshire.

Millar (1983, 71) wrote in his seminal article on the Phoenician cities:

> Firstly, the Phoenician cities already bore at least some resemblance to Greek city-states; it is not easy to say what if any significant social change their (partial) evolution into Greek *poleis* will have necessitated. Secondly, and more importantly, when the Phoenicians began to explore the storehouse of Greek culture, they could find, amongst other things, themselves, already created with creative roles.

Hence in his view, the "Hellenisation" of the Phoenician cities like Berytus was a subtle one, with the cities themselves bearing a strong resemblance to the Greek *poleis*. A change did come to Berytus, which, unlike the other cities of the Phoenician coast, became the centrepiece of a Roman colony.

The key aim of this monograph, then, is to understand to what extent the landscape of Roman Berytus and the Bekaa valley is a product of colonial transformation following the foundation of Colonia Iulia Augusta Felix Berytus in 15 BCE. Can we see the colony as an intrusive Latin element in the wider Near East, or does the development of Berytus, the Bekaa valley, and the major sanctuary complex at Baalbek-Heliopolis reflect elements of continuity from the pre-Roman past, be that Hellenistic, Punic, or Semitic? There is a dual transformation in this context, as any change that took place in the period of study could involve both religious and non-religious aspects. In the context of the Bekaa valley, the change is most clearly seen through the construction of religious architecture.

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## 1.2 Objectives

This book has two main objectives. The first is to understand the impact of the Roman colony on the cities of Berytus and Baalbek-Heliopolis, and on the landscape of the Bekaa. To do this requires a discussion of pre-Roman Berytus and Baalbek-Heliopolis, and in the context of Baalbek the date when the "Hellenistic" Temple was built. Assessing the role of the Ituraeans prior to the foundation of the colony, particularly in the Bekaa and at Baalbek-Heliopolis, is an important element. The chronological development of Berytus and Baalbek-Heliopolis then becomes central to an assessment of the extent to which the foundation of the colony occasioned continuity or change.

Secondly, this study aims to understand the nature of the deities worshipped at Berytus, Baalbek-Heliopolis, Deir el-Qalaa, Niha and Hosn Niha and whether or not they were related to preexisting deities in the Near East. Belief in the existence of the Heliopolitan Triad has been central to much previous archaeological work, and so part of this objective is to evaluate the evidence for and against the Heliopolitan Triad. The book also examines the relationship between the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus and the surrounding landscape at Baalbek-Heliopolis and compares this with other Temples in the Bekaa valley.

The archaeological record in Beirut and the Bekaa is complex, the product of multiple phases of research under successive national groups of archaeologists. The civil-war period itself has led to a significant break in archaeological research and the loss of archaeological work prior to the conflict, as excavations were not published and material lost. With this in mind an appropriate theoretical framework is developed before moving to the study itself.

## 1.3 Chronological and Geographical Range

The chronological range of this study is from the beginning of the first century BCE to the end the fourth century CE. This range encompasses all the major phases of pre-Christian religious activity at Baalbek-Heliopolis, as can be directly inferred from the archaeological record. It also covers the transition from Hellenistic to Roman at Berytus and the later development of the colonia.

The monograph will briefly engage with the earlier periods in order to establish the development of the city of Berytus and to address the traditional idea, for example as argued by Ragette (1980), that the site later occupied by the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus was used as a religious sanctuary in earlier epochs. In fact, this study will argue strongly against this idea and suggest that the ear-

liest development of the site as a major religious sanctuary was in the first century BCE, either under the Ituraeans or under Rome. Indeed, this development likely postdated the Roman conquest of the region by Pompey in 64 BCE, when, as this study suggests, the Ituraean tetrarchy centred on the Bekaa became a Roman client kingdom.

The choice of an end date of circa 400 CE represents the approximate construction date of the last major Temple at Baalbek, the so-called Temple of Venus. In the context of Berytus, this date corresponds to both the transition to late antiquity and the start of coverage by the previous study of Berytus by Linda Jones Hall (2004), *Roman Berytus: Beirut in Late Antiquity*. 400 CE fell in a period of transition during which the Roman Empire had become Christian but within which polytheistic religious practice continued. Fuller consolidation of Christian practice after this period is noted and contextualised in this work but does not form part of the larger analysis attempted here. The subsequent transformation of the region under Islamic control is not discussed.

The geographical range of this study is the territory of the Colonia Julia Augusta Felix Berytus as initially founded, that is Berytus and the northern Bekaa valley. The study of the colonial territory as a whole allows for a full assessment of transformation resulting from the colonial foundation and its impact on the wider landscape.

## 1.4 Topography and Geographical Setting

Modern Lebanon is a small Levantine state bordered by Israel to the south and Syria to the north and east. The country is around 10,000 $km^2$ in area, making it roughly half the size of Wales in the United Kingdom (see Figure 1). The geography of Lebanon is divided into three: the coastal plain, the Lebanon Mountains, and the Bekaa valley, with the Anti-Lebanon mountain range dividing Lebanon from Syria. The Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon mountain ranges were formed by geological folding events during the collision of the African-Arabian tectonic plate with the Eurasian plate around 30–35 million years ago (Walley 1998).[1] The high level terrain of the Lebanon mountain range consists of fractured rocks formed from Jurassic and Cretaceous limestone. The fractures have formed through the action of a series of faults running through Lebanon. Weathering of the limestone has created some areas with strange rock forma-

1 Note that (Mócsy 1974, 228) is an online article providing a summary of the geology of Lebanon published by the American University of Beirut.

FIGURE 1 Map of modern Lebanon and bordering states
WIKIMEDIA COMMONS, 2002, HTTPS://COMMONS.WIKIMEDIA.ORG/WIKI/FILE:LEBANON_2002_CIA_MAP.JPG

tions, such as at Qalaat Faqra, although these regions are on the western side of the Lebanon mountain range and outside the study area.

The remains of ancient Berytus lie directly under modern West Beirut. Beirut is of course the capital of Lebanon and is a Mediterranean port city. Today the greater Beirut metropolitan area has a population of up to two million people out of a total population of Lebanon of up to six million, a population that has risen considerably during the Syrian civil war. Beirut River flows down from the Mount Lebanon mountains and into the Mediterranean through the city.

The modern town of Baalbek is located at a latitude of N 34°0′22″ and a longitude of E 36°12′31″ and lies at 1,170 m above sea level.[2] The Temple ruins lie on the western side of the town, with much of the ancient city buried beneath modern Baalbek. The town and the associated Temple complex are situated in the Bekaa valley, 85 km northeast of Beirut by road and around 90 km from Damascus. The journey from Beirut brings the visitor over the pass of Dahr el-Baidar, at an altitude of 1550 m, through arid territory down into the long and fertile Bekaa valley (Ragette 1980, 13), which runs north–south for 175 km, its breadth ranging between 10 and 16 km, and links the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon mountain ranges in the west and east respectively. The Bekaa lies at an average altitude of 900–1000 m above sea level and is modern Lebanon's only major agricultural region. The valley was also a significant agricultural area in the past and was known as one of the "granaries of Rome" (Ragette 1980, 13). Today the major crops are beans, corn, and wheat. The fertile landscape of the Bekaa with its crops contrasts markedly with the barren, reddish-brown slopes of the mountains in the distance, some of which are snowcapped throughout the year. Today large groups of silver poplars provide wood for construction, but recent studies (Mikesell 1969, 1–28) have suggested that there has been significant deforestation since the Roman historian Tacitus highlighted its forested character (Tacitus *Histories* v.6). A number of inscriptions have been recovered from Mount Lebanon relating to Roman woodland management under Hadrian (*ILS* 9384–9386), suggesting that timber was a significant resource and that it was controlled by the emperor.[3]

There are two major rivers in the Bekaa valley, the Litany to the south and the Orontes in the north. Today the Litany is spread across a large number of small irrigation channels before ending its course in the Karaoun reservoir and the adjacent hydroelectric power station. In the early Islamic period, the val-

2 Source Google Earth. © 2015 Google Inc, used with permission. Google and the Google logo are registered trademarks of Google Inc.

3 Note, however, that these inscriptions were recovered outside the study area and hence are not considered in detail in this work.

ley was thought to be marshy, and, significantly, its Arabic name derives from *Biqua*, meaning "place with stagnant water". To the north the Orontes runs along the edge of the plain of Homs in Syria before passing into modern Turkey and draining into the Mediterranean north of Antakya (Antioch).

Baalbek itself lies on the watershed between the two rivers, although the gradient is so slight that it is unclear whether water from the springs at Ras' el-'Ayn, to the southeast of Baalbek, joins the Orontes or Litany Rivers. Modern Baalbek is the district capital and has a population of around fifteen thousand, two thirds of which are Muslim.

The recent history of Lebanon is dominated by conflict in the form of the 1975–1990 civil war and more recently the 2006 Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon and the civil war in neighbouring Syria from 2011 onward. The town of Baalbek is a Hezbollah stronghold and was the scene of Israeli commando raids in 2006 and some rocket fire from Syria in recent years due to the civil war. As a consequence of the geopolitical situation, large-scale archaeological fieldwork in the Bekaa valley is not possible at present. As noted below, archaeological excavation at Beirut resumed in 1993 and at Baalbek from 1998 onward.

## 1.5 Structure of the Monograph

### 1.5.1 *Sources, Historiography, Method & Theory*

Chapter 2 provides the foundation for the rest of this monograph and is divided into two main sections. The first section gives a discussion of sources and historiography for Berytus, Baalbek, and the Bekaa valley. This discussion necessarily raises the question of how past scholars have used method and theory, and this forms the subject for the second half of the chapter. The sources for this work are primarily the archaeological site reports from excavations and surveys at Berytus and Baalbek and in the Bekaa valley from the beginning of the twentieth century to the present day. Each archaeological source is appraised individually with an overall assessment of the quality of archaeological evidence upon which this work is based. There is limited historical evidence for Berytus, Baalbek, or the Bekaa in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Two sources, Josephus and Macrobius, are of particular importance, and the chapter assesses what each contributes to our understanding of the region. The final source for this study is the rich collection of epigraphic, iconographic, and numismatic material that has been recovered from the region. A large collection of inscriptions has been published by Rey-Coquais (1967), while details of carved reliefs have been published in a number of volumes on coins by Sawaya (2009). Unfor-

tunately, there is a lack of collated epigraphic evidence from Berytus itself, and this will remain the case until volume 8/1 of *Les inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie* is published. The first part of the chapter concludes with an assessment of the epigraphic, iconographic, and numismatic evidence and the difficulties in their use and interpretation.

The second section in chapter 2 is focused on method and theory. In order to establish the methodology that will be used in the monograph, this section will evaluate different approaches to archaeological theory. This study is, principally, a work of landscape archaeology, and as such it is essential to establish the methodological approach. In essence the study relies on two theoretical paradigms: landscape phenomenology, as developed by Christopher Tilley (1994), and the archaeology of memory, as developed by Alcock and others (Van Dyke and Alcock 2003). Both approaches are assessed in chapter 2. Finally, this is also a study of the archaeology of religion. It is therefore necessary to develop a theoretical understanding of the archaeology of religion in a landscape context.

### 1.5.2 *The Hellenistic and Roman Client Kingdoms in the Levant*

It is important to understand the colonia in the context of the Levant in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods. This chapter reviews the historical development of the Hellenistic kingdoms down to the collapse of Seleucid authority around the end of the second century BCE.[4] The Ituraeans come to prominence in the first century BCE and control the Bekaa valley, and so the chapter reviews the historical evidence for the Ituraeans and the Ituraean principality prior to the foundation of the colonia. The historical evidence of Berytus is also reviewed from its early origins down to the foundation of the colonia. Finally, the chapter explores the end of the Ituraean principality under Zenodorus and the subsequent changes in neighbouring client kingdoms down to the death of the last regional Roman client king, Agrippa II.

### 1.5.3 *Pre-Hellenistic and Hellenistic Berytus*

The archaeological excavation programme during the reconstruction of West Beirut shed new light on the development of the city from its beginnings in the Early Bronze Age. This chapter reviews the latest archaeological research to construct a synthesis of pre-Roman Berytus. Hence it forms a key foundation for understanding the later Roman development of the city.

4 The last Seleucid kings, rivals Antiochus XIII and Philip II, were both deposed by Pompey.

### 1.5.4 *The Pre-Hellenistic and Hellenistic Bekaa*

The chronological starting point for this monograph is the late Hellenistic period, when the Bekaa valley was under the control of the Ituraean tetrarchs. This chapter is therefore essential to the three key themes of this study, as it provides the background for the eventual Roman transformation of the Bekaa valley.

Critical to the development of this work is an understanding of the origin and early development of the city of Baalbek-Heliopolis and the site of the later Roman sanctuary dedicated to Jupiter Heliopolitanus. Three key questions are considered; when does occupation begin at Baalbek, when can the earliest archaeologically discernible traces of cult practice be found, and when was the "Hellenistic" Temple constructed? The traditional picture, as espoused by Ragette (1980) and others, is one where Baalbek-Heliopolis is thought to have become a major cult centre as early as the end of the second millennium BCE. This chapter comprehensively critiques this view and concludes that there is little or no evidence to support it. Rather the development of the city as a cult centre occurred in the first century BCE, most likely beginning under the control of the Ituraean tetrarchy but quite possibly under direct Roman control.

To provide the essential background this chapter examines the historical and archaeological evidence for the Hellenistic and pre-Hellenistic Bekaa valley. The historical evidence for the Hellenistic period is strong, primarily because of the detailed information provided by Josephus, although other sources, such as Polybius and Livy, are also important for the earlier Hellenistic period. There is a reasonable amount of archaeological evidence for the pre-Hellenistic period in the Bekaa from the survey by Marfoe (1998). The Hellenistic period itself is not well represented in the archaeological record, and hence the chapter critically reviews the evidence that does exist at Baalbek. The chapter presents as detailed a perspective on the Hellenistic period as is possible with the limited evidence available.

### 1.5.5 *Roman Berytus*

The chapter begins with an assessment of the foundation of the Colonia Julia Augusta Felix Berytus and its impact on the City of Berytus. The development of the city of Berytus in the Roman period is then explored in detail. The recent BCD Infrastructure Archaeology Project provides most of the evidence (Curvers and Stuart 1997). The chapter explores both public and private architecture, as well as funerary practice, including in particularthe Cardo Maximus and Decumanus Maximus, the Forum, the port area, religious architecture, the theatre, and the hippodrome.

### 1.5.6 *The Sanctuary at Deir el-Qalaa*

Chapter 7 considers the Temple complex at Deir el-Qalaa, situated in the hills above Berytus. This Temple complex is important for understanding religious practice in the colonia because of its proximity to Berytus itself and the range of dedications recovered from the site.

### 1.5.7 *The Sanctuaries of Niha and Hosn Niha*

The territory of the colonia included the northern Bekaa valley with the sanctuaries at Niha and at Hosn Niha. This chapter examines the development of the two sanctuary sites and associated settlement activity, and explores the nature of religious practice and the links with the wider colonia.

### 1.5.8 *The Religious Landscape of Baalbek in the Roman Period*

Chapter 9 explores the development of Baalbek during the Roman period, here defined as stretching from the foundation of the colonia at Berytus in 15 BCE until the early fourth century. The chapter begins with a brief assessment of the foundation of the colonia at Berytus and the subsequent development of the Roman city, to place Heliopolis in context.

The chapter is divided into two main sections, covering the period up to 150 CE and the period after 150 CE respectively. This division is significant, as the mid-second century sees a lull in the development of Baalbek,[5] after the completion of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus but before the wide range of later developments including the so-called Temple of Bacchus. The first aim of the chapter is to narrate the changes that took place at Baalbek during the early Roman period but also to challenge previous archaeological work. The primary focus is on the construction of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, which began in the early first century, either under Augustus or under Tiberius. The construction of the neighbouring "Temple of the Muses" is also discussed, as this was probably constructed slightly earlier, around the turn of the millennium.

The second half of the chapter examines the last phase of polytheistic development in the city of Baalbek-Heliopolis. This period marks the high point of Roman religious activity in the Bekaa valley and hence this section analyses the final phase of the Roman conversion process. The period from Marcus Aurelius to Philip the Arab in the mid-third century marks the completion of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus with the completion of the rectangular Great Court

5 Although the construction of the great court to the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus likely continued throughout the second century.

and the addition of the hexagonal forecourt under Philip the Arab. The neighbouring so-called Temple of Bacchus was also built at this time. Elsewhere, the city was significantly remodelled, with the construction of the Temple of Mercury on what later become known as Sheikh Abdallah Hill, and redevelopment of the area of the so-called Temple of Venus and Bustan Al-Khan. The chapter explores all of these later developments, considering the relationships between each structure and the local topography and between the structures themselves.

### 1.5.9 *Life in the Bekaa from Epigraphic, Numismatic, and Iconographic Evidence*

To place the colonia into the wider context of the Roman Empire, it is essential to examine life in the region during the Roman period. This chapter focuses on epigraphic, numismatic, and iconographic evidence relating to the Bekaa valley.[6] Baalbek-Heliopolis was part of a colony with veteran settlement, so an association with the Roman Army is to be expected, but the city is also approximately 120 km from the legionary base at Raphanea, lying between there and Damascus. Nevertheless, it is important to examine information sources from all sectors of Roman society and to consider how the pattern of life at Baalbek-Heliopolis resembled or differed from other areas of the Roman Empire and in particular to assess the extent to which the Roman colony represents an intrusive element in the Levant in this period. The archaeology discussed in Chapters 3 and 4 does not provide much evidence to answer any of these questions directly, and there is very little historical evidence of any activity at Baalbek-Heliopolis; hence other sources must be examined. Three sources of evidence are available for this analysis: epigraphic, numismatic, and iconographic. Chapter 10 uses these to address a series of key research questions.

Four key research questions are raised within the broader theme of life at Baalbek. How can we characterise the nature of the gods of venerated at Baalbek? Were they intrusive or indigenous? Is it accurate to speak of the Heliopolitan Triad, as many archaeologists have alleged? This question matters because it helps us to understand the degree to which the cult centre served as an agent of change versus continuity in the local community. Another key question is who provided the finance for the construction of the Temples. That is, it is important to assess the degree of imperial and non-imperial euergetism. A third question centres on the extent of military-and-veteran versus civilian

6 As was noted earlier, due to the lack of collated epigraphic data, it is not currently possible to extend this analysis to include Berytus.

involvement at Baalbek-Heliopolis. This is critical for understanding the extent to which the veteran settlement and colony are an intrusive element in the region. A final question surrounds the nature of claims to membership of the Fabia tribe, which a number of inscriptions contain, particularly from those with military connections.

### 1.5.10 *Landscape and Religious Architecture in the Colonia*

Chapter 11 is devoted to understanding the relationship between religious architecture and the surrounding landscape through visibility studies. Comparisons between the viewsheds of different Temples allow a broader understanding of both the relative status and the relationship between monuments. Visibility is also used to remotely explore the impact of moving through the landscape and viewing the monument from a distance, including the visual experience of approaching the monument. Intervisibility between Temples is used to establish and understand relationships between these monuments. Three studies are presented of the religious complexes at Deir el-Qalaa, Niha/Hosn Niha, and Baalbek-Heliopolis.

### 1.5.11 *Conclusion*

The monograph ends with a final assessment of the nature of the Roman transformation of Berytus and the Bekaa valley. The study will conclude that the Roman conversion of the landscape of the colonia was a multifaceted one. Tensions between the natural and constructed landscape are very clear; some Temple structures are embedded within the natural terrain, demonstrating a symbiotic relationship. In contrast, the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus at Baalbek uses the language of domination, with its massive structure overpowering the city and the plain of the northern Bekaa. There was also a tension between elements derived from the Western Roman Empire and those from indigenous sources, revealing a series of local responses to Roman ideas. The early development of Baalbek-Heliopolis is marked by architectural elements derived from Italy and the Roman West. The closest parallel to the Temple-court scheme used in the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus is the Forum of Augustus in Rome, while the design of the early "Temple of the Muses" is otherwise found only in Italy and Gaul. Yet the transformation of Berytus was subtler, with Roman elements inserted into the existing Hellenistic city.

The later development of Berytus and Baalbek-Heliopolis was influenced by contemporary developments in neighbouring cities in the Near East, with the inclusion of architectural features such as colonnaded streets. Ultimately, the foundation of the colony of Berytus can be seen as an intrusive element but one that was moulded by the Near East over time.

CHAPTER 2

# Sources, Historiography, Method & Theory

## 2.1 Introduction

This chapter plays two main purposes; firstly, it places the study into the context of previous work through a critical survey of the archaeological and historical sources for the colonia at Berytus and Heliopolis and secondly it develops the methodology that is applied later in the book, including its underpinnings in archaeology theory.

## 2.2 Sources and Historiography

### 2.2.1 *Archaeological Studies of Berytus*

The archaeology of West Beirut was little known prior to the excavation programme that began in 1993, after the end of the civil war and in parallel with the redevelopment of the downtown area. Some archaeological work was conducted in the nineteenth century (Marquis 1995, 16), but the first real systematic attempt at understanding ancient Beirut was made by Robert Du Mesnil du Buisson in the 1920s. Du Mesnil du Buisson was a French archaeologist and decorated veteran of the First World War. In the interwar period, he excavated in the Middle East and is perhaps best known for his work at Dura Europos, where he excavated the siege works as part of the Yale-French Academy excavations running from 1928–1937 (James 2009). Prior to his work at Dura Europos, Du Mesnil du Buisson worked on several aspects of the archaeology of ancient Beirut. He (1921a, b) reconstructed the ancient defences of Beirut from the few extant remains still visible and earlier accounts, particularly those that predated redevelopment of Beirut in the mid-nineteenth century. The defences were medieval in origin, but Du Mesnil du Buisson also examined the general topography of the ancient city (Du Mesnil du Buisson 1924, 1925), identified the Decumanus Maximus (Du Mesnil du Buisson 1926a), explored the legend of Saint George in Beirut (Du Mesnil du Buisson 1927), discussed the Poseidon of Berytus (Du Mesnil du Buisson 1926b), and reported on a bronze statue of Jupiter Heliopolitan discovered in Beirut (Du Mesnil du Buisson 1928). Du Mensil du Buisson did not excavate in Beirut, and hence his findings relate only to extant remains and older photographic records. An exploration of the legends of Saint George in Beirut seems a fanciful topic today and one that an archaeol-

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ogist would not undertake. Nevertheless, his work on Beirut remains valuable, and he did correctly identify the location of the Decumanus Maximus.

Further archaeological research on the ancient city of Berytus was conducted by Jean Lauffray in the 1930s and 1940s. Lauffray was a French architect who became involved in archaeology in the 1930s, working on excavations in Syria and Turkey (Contenson 2001). Lauffray worked in Beirut in the 1940s, identifying the location of the forum, a basilica, a bath house, and Temples in the vicinity of Nejme Square (Place de l'Étoile) (1944–1945, 1946–1948). In doing so he identified most of the key elements of the Roman city, although he incorrectly described the Decumanus Maximus as being colocated with the modern Rue Waygand. Later Lauffray worked at Byblos; in France; and at Karnak, in Egypt (Contenson 2001).

In 1977 the Direction Générale des Antiquités (DGA) began excavating in the city centre of Beirut, which was now abandoned following the outbreak of the civil war in 1975 (Asmar 1996, 7). Some of the excavations were subsequently published (Forest and Forest 1982, Turquety-Pariset 1982), although the excavation programme was suspended in 1983, following an upsurge in fighting (Asmar 1996, 7).

After the end of the civil war in 1990, plans were made to redevelop the city centre. In October 1991 the United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the Council for Redevelopment and Reconstruction (CDR) signed a memorandum establishing an archaeological cooperation project (Asmar 1996, 7). In November 1993 a programme of excavations was established by the Lebanese government, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and UNESCO, with the DGA as the executing agency (Asmar 1996, 7). The subsequent programme of excavations became known as the Beirut Central District (BCD) Infrastructure Archaeology Project. The programme can be divided into four phases, covering the periods 1993–1995, 1995–1999, 2000–2006, and 2007 onward. Given the scale of the project, it required a large multinational team to be established, involving the Lebanese University and the American University of Beirut with eight European universities and four other archaeological institutions (Asmar 1996, 8).

The first phase of the BCD project covered some fifty-nine sites scattered across downtown Beirut. The locations of the sites are shown in Figure 2 while Table 4 in appendix A provides a summary of the sites alongside associated references. The BCD excavation programme provided a unique opportunity to excavate an ancient city that had been buried under later development. However, notwithstanding the effective abandonment of the city centre, the excavation was, by necessity, broken up according to development sites. This meant a patchwork of individual excavations and an approach not dissimilar

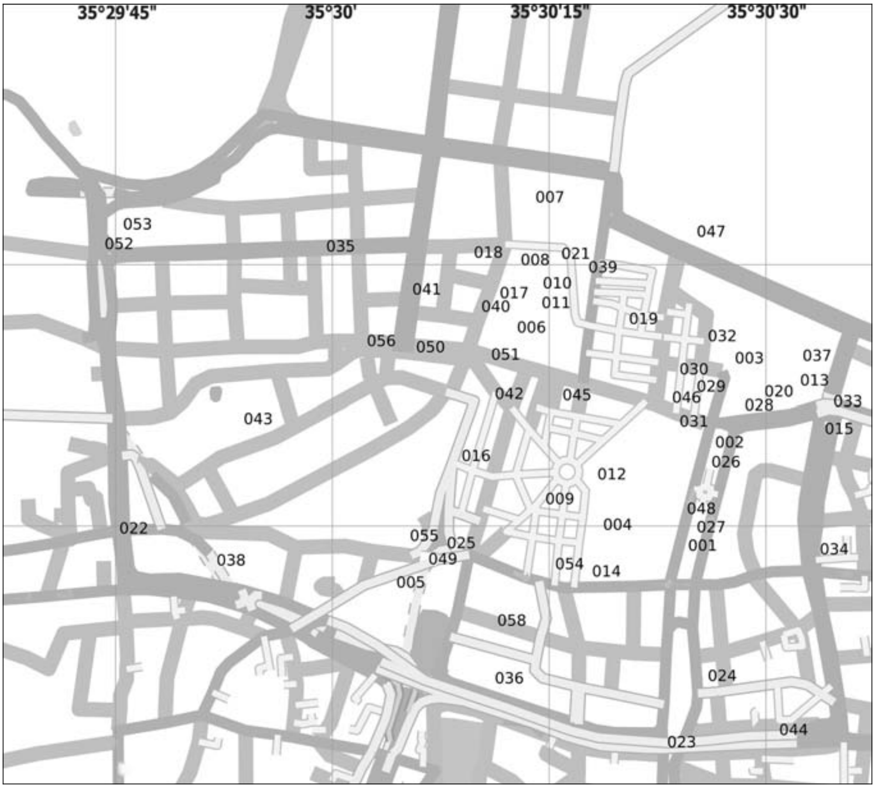


FIGURE 2 Plan of BCD Infrastructure Archaeology Project excavations 1993–1995
IMAGE SOURCE © OPENSTREETMAP CONTRIBUTORS

to that adopted in Roman London. Different groups excavated different areas, although with overall coordination by the DGA. It is clear that in some cases, tensions were evident with developers during the excavation programme.

In the period from 1995 to 1999, the list of sites was expanded to 132 (Curvers and Stuart 1999). The locations of the additional sites are shown in Figure 3 and Table 5 in appendix A provide a summary of the sites alongside associated references.

The years from 2000 to 2006 saw the further expansion of the BCD excavation programme (Curvers and Stuart 2006). In particular this phase saw the start of excavation work on both the Roman hippodrome and theatre, which were investigated more fully in the period after 2006. A further thirty-five sites were investigated, and these are listed in Table 6 in appendix A and their locations illustrated in Figure 4.

In the period after 2006, archaeological work continued, although to date little of this work has been published, except in "gray" or unofficial reports.

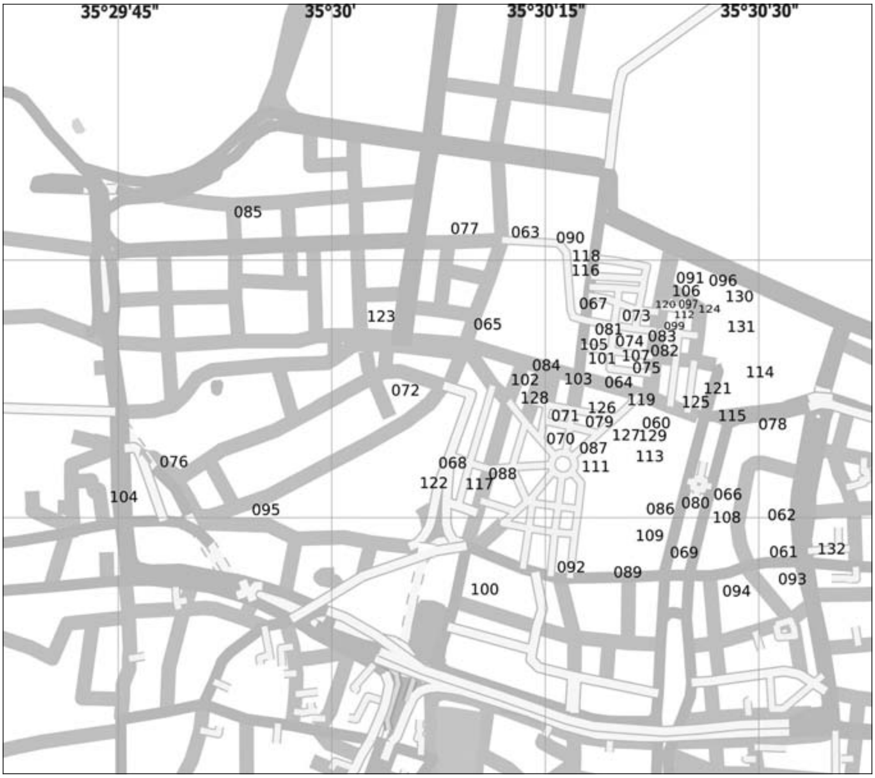


FIGURE 3 Plan of BCD Infrastructure Archaeology Project excavations 1995–1999
IMAGE SOURCE © OPENSTREETMAP CONTRIBUTORS

Major investigations continued on the site of the theatre and the circus prior to the redevelopment of these areas (Curvers 2013d, 2011, 2015). The final phase of work on the theatre and circus was completed in 2015. This late phase involved the dismantling of the remains of the circus and has proven highly controversial (Battah 2013). Excavations at Riad al-Solh Square have revealed a Roman Gatehouse (Meguerditchian 2013), although no site report has yet been published.

### 2.2.2 *Archaeological Studies of Deir el-Qalaa*

Deir el-Qalaa is a major Roman period sanctuary site set on a hilltop, 730 m above sea level, overlooking Beirut and the valley carrying the Beirut River (the ancient Magoras) inland. The sanctuary is situated around 10 km from downtown Beirut and today is close to the outer suburbs of the city and close to the village of Beit Mary. The site contains the remains of three Temples and a Byzantine church, while a number of stone-cut tombs have also been found

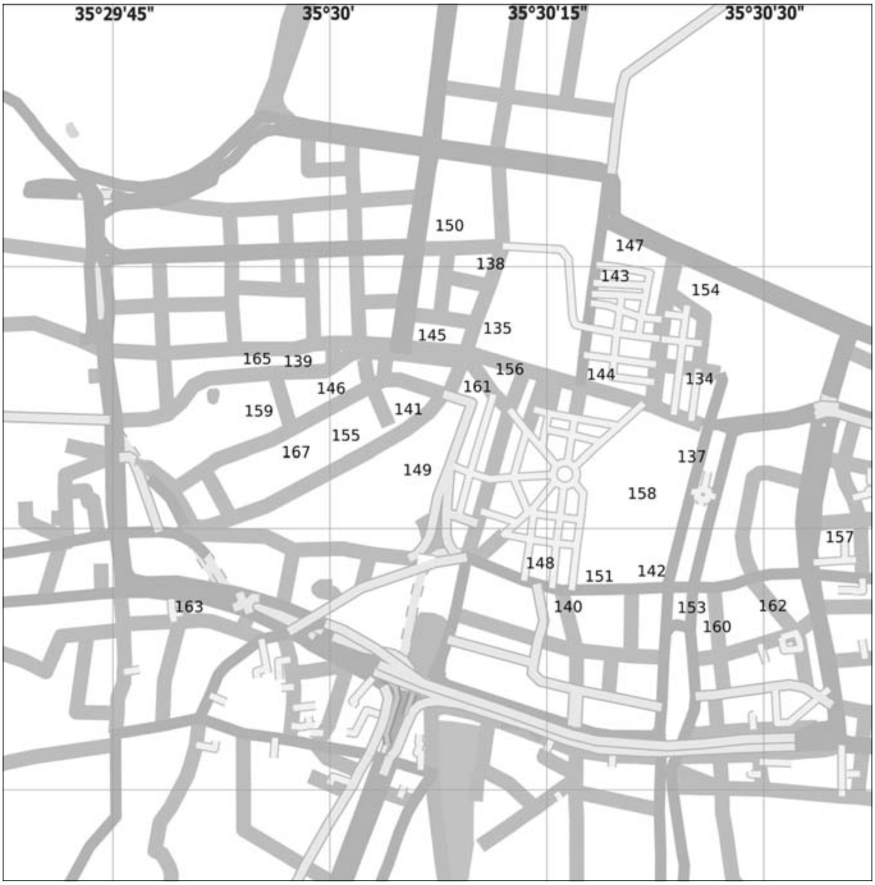


FIGURE 4 Plan of BCD Infrastructure Archaeology Project excavations 2000–2006
IMAGE SOURCE © OPENSTREETMAP CONTRIBUTORS

close to the site (Aliquot 2009a, 268–271). The main Temple, believed to be dedicated to Jupiter Balmarcod, is now the site of a church that was constructed on the remains of the podium in 1750 (Aliquot 2009a, 268–271), and the site is now enclosed in the grounds of the Maronite monastery of Saint Jean.

Given the proximity of Deir el-Qalaa to Beirut, it has been the subject of study from the early nineteenth century, with recorded visits from Setzen (1805), de Smith (1843), de Bertou (1845), de Guys (1847), and de Texier (1864).[1] The first full archaeological studies of the site were conducted by Renan (1864, 353–358) and Ronzevalle (1900, 232–259), although the defini-

1 See Ronzevalle 1900, 233.

tive study of the standing remains was provided, as might be expected, by Krencker and Zschietzschmann (1938). The site has only received limited excavation, and Kalayan performed this in the 1960s and 1970s; however, this has never been published, with only limited information available, from Saidah (1967, 175–176) and Donceel (1966, 242–245). A further modern survey has been conducted by Nordiguian (1993–1994). Aliquot (2009a, 268–271) provides a summary of the archaeology of the site and has also published more of the archive material originally prepared by Ronzevalle (Aliquot 2009b). There have been numerous surveys of the standing remains at Deir el-Qalaa but no modern excavation of the site itself. Much of the information about the site comes from the over one hundred Greek and Latin inscriptions that have been recovered there, alongside a number of bas-relief sculptures (Ronzevalle 1901). Hence study of the inscriptions from Deir el-Qalaa has always been central to study of the site and its ancient context. Rey-Coquais (1999) and Hošek (2013) provide analysis of the body of epigraphy from the site. Full publication of the inscriptions awaits a later volume of *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de Syrie*.

### 2.2.3 *Archaeological Studies of Baalbek*

Baalbek was a site visited by travellers and antiquarians from the twelfth century onward, the first visit from which records survive being that of Benjamin of Tudela in 1170 (Komroff 1928). Records from the visits of many travellers remain, but the most significant from an archaeological perspective are those of Henry Maundrell, James Dawkins and Robert Wood, and David Roberts. Maundrell visited Baalbek in 1697 (Maundrell 1703) and gave a detailed description of his visit, together with an illustration of Baalbek as seen from Sheikh Abdallah Hill. Dawkins and Wood visited Baalbek in 1751 and produced a large volume on Baalbek with forty-six illustrations (Wood 1757). In particular their work predates the major earthquake of 1759 that toppled three columns from the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus. The artist David Roberts visited Baalbek during his tour of the Near East during 1838 and 1839, and his painting of the dislodged keystone in the so-called Temple of Bacchus has become one of the iconic images of the site (Roberts 1841).

The first German archaeological mission to Baalbek was conducted from 1898 to 1905 and represents the first serious archaeological work at Baalbek. The mission was prompted by the visit of the German emperor, Wilhelm II, and his wife on November 1, 1889, at the request of the Ottoman Empire under Sultan Abdul Hamid II. A preliminary survey was conducted by German archaeologists Koldewey, Andrae, and Moritz in preparation for the excavation proper, which began in 1900 (Scheffler 1998, 17, Ragette 1980, 95). The site excavated by

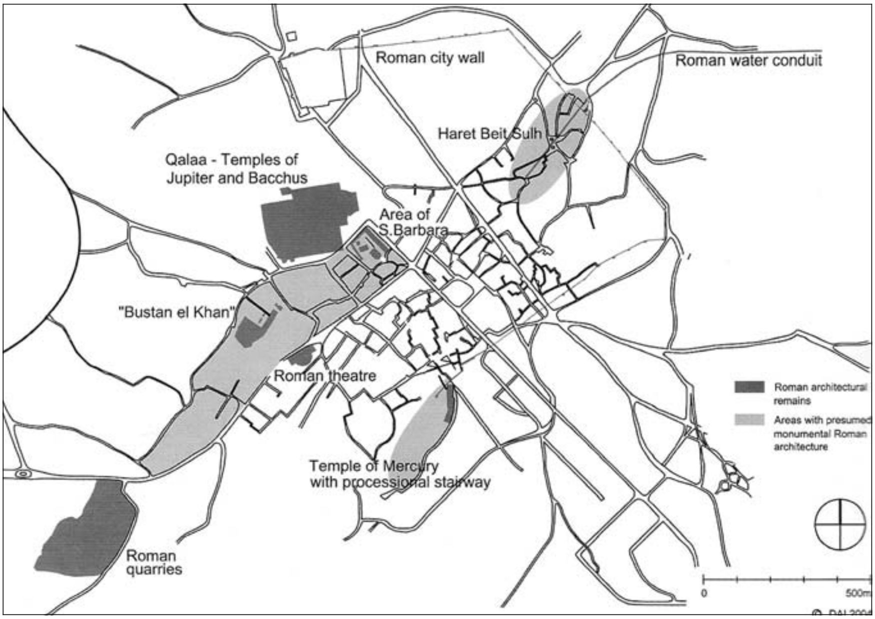


FIGURE 5 Map of Baalbek
VAN ESS, 2006

the Germany archaeological team comprised the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, the so-called Temple of Bacchus and the so-called Temple of Venus. Once the team led by Professor Otto Pushtein had arrived on the site, it was cleared of all debris; stone blocks were numbered and catalogued, and a careful recording of the Roman and Arabic structures took place.[2] Excavation of the site took two years to complete and generated a large number of drawings and photographs (Wiegand, Schulz, and Winnefeld 1925). The aims of the project were to record the state of the site as they found it, remove the rubble and identify the different periods of construction, eliminate later construction, and prepare a plan of the Temples in their original state (Ragette 1980, 98). By 1904 work at Baalbek had been completed, but the death of Pushtein in 1911 delayed the publication of the report (Ragette 1980, 99). Winnefeld, along with another architect, Heinrich Kohl, took over the project in 1912, but both died during World War I. It was not until 1917 and the early postwar years that work on the archaeological report was completed by Theodore Wiegand and K. Wulzinger, leading to publication in three volumes between 1921 and 1925 (Wiegand, Schulz, and Winnefeld 1921,

2 Figure 5 illustrates Baalbek and the major monuments.

1923, 1925). While the study could be viewed as being of a high standard for the early twentieth century, the excavation techniques were not to the standards of modern excavation, as contextual dating evidence is missing. Some elements, such as the Christian Basilica, received only a limited treatment.

After the defeat of Germany and the Ottoman Empire in the First World War, Lebanon came under French control. The Frenchman Charles Virolleaud was appointed head of the Department of Antiquities in Lebanon and began his project to protect and restore Lebanon's archaeological sites (Jidejian 1975, 10). The French mission included the Swiss archaeologist Paul Collart, the French architect Pierre Coupel, and the French archaeologist Henri Seyrig,[3] who undertook archaeological work just before and after the Second World War. As part of the broader scheme, Collart, Coupel, and Seyrig aimed to restore the whole court area of the Temple of Jupiter. Previously, the German expedition had exposed the remains of the Theodosian Christian Basilica, which prompted the French Department of Antiquities to remove the remainder of the ruins. The remains of a small pre-Christian altar were found beneath the floor of the basilica, and the superstructure of a larger altar was found farther east (Collart and Coupel 1951). The French study redated the Temple to the Augustan period after noting the mostly Augustan character of the decoration. The report, therefore, demonstrates a better understanding of the Temple cult and complex than is shown in Wiegand and Wulzinger.

During the 1960s and 1970s a series of archaeological excavations was undertaken at Baalbek by the Lebanese Department of Antiquities. Remains were discovered in gardens opposite the Hotel Palmyra during the 1960s and published in *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* (van Ess et al. 2003, 115). Professor Haroutune Kalayan, a member of the Lebanese Department of Antiquities, excavated in the Bustan el-Khan area during the 1970s, although the work itself was never fully published (van Ess et al. 2003, 115), and only details of a portico with twelve Corinthian columns and a small theatre have so far found their way into print (Kalayan 1975, 28–35). The record of postwar excavation at Baalbek is therefore patchy at best, with some short articles in *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* providing the only published information. Ragette, author of the popular book *Baalbek* (Ragette 1980), worked closely with Kalayan during the preparation of his manuscript, and so this book to a degree presents Kalayan's

3 Henri Seyrig was a highly respected archaeologist who studied the archaeology of Lebanon and Syria, including work on Baalbek and the Heliopolitan deities and on Palmyra (see for example Seyrig 1985). Seyrig was director general of Lebanese antiquities under the French mandate and later was the founder and first director of the Institut Français du Proche-Orient.

thinking about Baalbek. It would be easy to be critical of the poor publication record, but this is due largely to the onset of the civil war in 1975.

No further archaeological work was conducted at Baalbek until after the 1975–1990 civil war. The first postwar archaeology took place in 1996, when a necropolis was discovered in the village of Douris after telephone cables were installed under a road that serves a residential quarter 4 km southeast of the centre of Baalbek (van Ess et al. 2003, 83). Twelve burials were discovered in the rescue excavation that followed, conducted by the Direction Générale des Antiquités (DGA) and led by Toufiq Rifa'i. The 1996 excavation was undertaken very rapidly, with all twelve burials removed within two days. The following year a mission was jointly organised and financed by the DGA and the Deutsche Archeologisch Institut (DAI) under the supervision of Dr. Margarete van Ess (van Ess and Petersen 2003, 83–107). The team's research objective was to understand the funerary customs used in the necropolis (van Ess et al. 2003, 88). The excavation report gives a detailed insight into the burial customs in a site adjacent to Baalbek. The 1997 excavation was performed to a high standard, but the most significant finds, including golden face masks (van Ess and Petersen 2003, 94), were recovered from the 1996 excavation, where circumstances did not allow detailed recording to take place.

In 2001 a ten-year programme was initiated jointly between the DGA and the DAI to complete projects that were left unpublished due to the outbreak of the civil war. The project was led by Dr. Margarete van Ess of the DAI with the support of Director General of Antiquities Mr. Frédéric Husseini, architect Khaled Rifai, and Jean Yasmine, coordinator of the World Bank project for Baalbek (van Ess et al. 2003, 109). The key aim of the project was to investigate the origin of settlement in Baalbek and its development from the Bronze Age through to the late Ottoman period. A preliminary survey by the German archaeological team was conducted in the first season, focusing on stored materials from previous excavations and on the remaining buildings at Bustan el-Khan, to the south of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus (van Ess et al. 2003, 110).

The second and third seasons completed an inventory of stored archaeological material along with further work at Bustan el-Khan, the area of the so-called Venus Temple and the site of the Temple of Mercury, on top of the Sheikh Abdallah Hill. A survey was also made of archaeological remains in the city that had not been excavated. One element of the 2001–2003 fieldwork programme involved a geodetic survey carried out by Frank Henze and Bernard Ritter within the limits of the ancient city. A basic geodetic network was created, including the area of Bustan el-Khan and extending toward the eastern and northern habitation quarters of the city to the limits of the city wall. Photographs from the 1900–1904 excavation were also evaluated for their suitability

for photogrammetric analysis (van Ess et al. 2003, 114). Henze and Ritter aimed to integrate the data into a GIS system, but to date no further work has been published in this area. The area of Bustan el-Khan was investigated with focus on the Roman bath and the later medieval Mamluk Hammam (van Ess et al. 2003, 115 f.). The Mamluk Hammam was excavated by the DGA in the 1960s and 1970s by Kalayan but never published in detail (van Ess et al. 2003, 118). Backfill was removed to allow complete recording of plans. Architectural features such as niches for storing shoes and benches are partly preserved. These baths probably continued in use until the early Ottoman period at the latest before being destroyed, with the area remaining a garden until the 1960s (van Ess et al. 2003, 122).

The area of Saint Barbara, immediately to the west of the so-called Temple of Bacchus, was also investigated during the 2001–2003 research programme. Here lie the remains of the circular so-called Temple of Venus and the so-called Temple of the Muses, uncovered by H. Kalayan during the late 1950s (van Ess et al. 2003, 122). Consideration of the remains suggests the so-called Temple of the Muses was constructed before the so-called Temple of Venus. The Temple of Venus may have been converted to a Christian church early in the Byzantine period (van Ess et al. 2003, 127).

During the period 2004–2005, permission was granted for further archaeological work to be conducted in the area of Bustan el-Khan, the area of the so-called Temple of Venus, and the site of the Temple of Mercury (van Ess et al. 2005, 118). A survey was conducted on the western side of Sheikh Abdallah Hill, the site of the remains of the Temple of Mercury. The Temple is depicted on coins of the emperor Philip the Arab, including the monumental steps that rose from the city to the hill.[4] Some of the stone from the Temple was later reused in the mausoleum of Sheikh Abdallah during the medieval period. The team proposed a reconstruction of the Temple and found similarities between this Temple and the so-called Temple of Bacchus (van Ess et al. 2005, 125). An architectural and archaeological survey was conducted on the Bustan el-Khan peristyle complex (van Ess et al. 2005, 125). The research goal was to understand the interconnection between these buildings and the colonnaded street to the southeast of the Damascus gate, leading out of the city toward the southeast. Eighteen archaeological test pits were excavated across the site. The team found three phases of building layered on top of each other. The first building was damaged by fire, and some very interesting finds were found in the vicinity (van Ess et al. 2005, 134). The main axis of this building was

4 Coin reference SNGCop 435 (there is no RIC reference number at present).

possibly orientated toward the Temple of Mercury, and the building has been interpreted as the banqueting hall of a cultic community (van Ess et al. 2005, 135).

The years from 2004 to 2005 also saw the first results of the archaeological survey project in the territory of ancient Heliopolis-Baalbek (van Ess et al. 2005, 135). This preliminary survey of the hinterland of Baalbek was aimed at investigating the state of preservation of archaeological sites in the region and examining the geomorphology of the region to assess the impact on site visibility. Fourteen rural settlement sites were discovered, with some of them dated to the prehistoric period and one to the Early Bronze Age. Interestingly, a number of tombs were found on mountain ridges at a distance from any recorded settlement; only one of the tombs yielded any dating evidence in the form of Hellenistic pottery. A survey of pressing installations for wine and olives in the hinterland of Baalbek-Heliopolis was recent published by Fischer-Genz (2016).

The Lebanese numismatist Ziad Sawaya has acted as specialist for coins recovered from Baalbek during the excavation programme led by Margarate van Ess. He has recently published both an interim report about the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine coins recovered from Baalbek (Sawaya 2005, 147 f.) and a much more extensive work covering coins recovered from both Berytus and Heliopolis (Sawaya 2009). Sawaya's work is vitally important to understanding the historical development of Heliopolis and its relationship with Berytus. As will be discussed in more detail when analysing the Roman period, Sawaya argues that Baalbek became independent from Berytus under Septimus Severus, as Heliopolis started producing its own colonial bronze coinage in 194 CE (Sawaya 2009, 238–243). However, coin evidence is much less significant for the Hellenistic period, and Heliopolis did not reproduce coins in the name of Alexander the Great, the Diadochi, the Ptolemies, or the Seleucids, which makes dating in this period difficult.

The ten-year programme led by Margarete van Ess has now concluded. Two papers, Lohmann (2010) and Kropp and Lohmann (2011), have recently been published that provide additional information on the Hellenistic sanctuary. The collection of papers edited by van Ess and Rheidt (2014) represents the most complete publication to date of the results of the excavation programme. This volume collects the work of the excavation programme, while adding previously unpublished work on the Temple and nymphaeum at Ras el-Ein and Islamic Baalbek.

What should be immediately apparent from the above review is that most of the archaeological work on Baalbek has focused on individual monuments within the ancient city of Heliopolis. A significant amount of archaeological work has been undertaken, but only a portion of it has been published. The

recent work of the German archaeological team has started to address this, but the programme has by necessity been fragmentary in nature as the DAI and DGA attempt to catch up with a programme of research that was severely disrupted by the civil war. The German team has also been very focused on the city of Baalbek-Heliopolis, rather than the hinterland, although it should be noted that the hinterland of Baalbek-Heliopolis was part of the initial research design. Local political problems have so far prevented a detailed survey of the landscape around the city. To date there has been no attempt to place Baalbek-Heliopolis in the wider context of the Bekaa valley or to understand its relationship with Berytus.

There are few works of synthesis that explore Baalbek in detail, though there are a number of popular works that relate to the site as a tourist attraction. *Baalbek* by Friedrich Ragette, published in 1980, is one book that attempts a general survey of the sanctuary complex within the context of Heliopolis. Ragette provides a thorough account in a work pertaining to the genre of art history, combining some important insights into the site's historical background. The many reconstruction drawings and detailed analysis proffered in Ragette's book render it a reference work, albeit one that predates the recent excavation work by van Ess et al. Ragette guides us chronologically from the early history of the site through the Roman, Christian, and Arab periods and then on to the rediscovery of Baalbek by the first European travellers, culminating in the arrival of Kaiser Wilhelm II. There are significant problems with the book, which is focused primarily on the Sanctuary of Jupiter Heliopolitanus. Another issue of concern is Ragette's presentation of the location of the city wall. On the map of Baalbek, the line of the city wall enclosing Baalbek is presented as a known feature. However, the location of the wall as presented by Ragette is conjectural and not fact (Ragette 1980, 64). The remains of the north gate can still be seen, implying the position of the Roman wall at this point.[5] However, the line of the wall to the west and south of the city is unknown, and in particular van Ess et al. do not mark the line of the wall in this sector on their own plan of the city (van Ess et al. 2003, 111). Ragette suggests that "the ancient fortifications surrounded the whole town except for the theatre, which the Romans uncharacteristically built outside the town walls" (Ragette 1980, 65), yet he presents no information as to how this conclusion was reached. It is therefore sometimes difficult to assess how reliable Ragette is as a source. Ragette's book is also aimed at a wider popular readership and has limited

5 It remains possible that the gate was merely an isolated decorative feature and did not form part of a defensive wall.

detail on the archaeology itself. All in all, Ragette's book is the most complete synthesis on Baalbek so far written but with limitations, some of which are quite serious.

*Baalbek-Heliopolis: "City of the Sun,"* by Nina Jidejian, is a historical and archaeological study of Baalbek with an extensive bibliography (Jidejian 1975). Like her successor, Ragette, Jidejian produced a synthesis on Baalbek focusing on the sanctuary itself, aimed primarily at a popular audience. Nevertheless, she brought together a wealth of material with citations from Arab to western travellers. Of particular importance here is the extensive photographic record provided by Jidejian, including aerial photography of the site and views of the main Temple (Jidejian 1975, 85f.). The author also supplies us with photos of coins, engraved gems and statuettes, and drawings of entablatures. The book is a well-researched and referenced study by an esteemed Lebanese archaeologist. However, the work does not address the relationship between Baalbek and its hinterland, nor does it explore the relationship between Baalbek and the Bekaa valley or Berytus. The book is ultimately a coffee-table book and not primarily an academic reference work.[6]

A further relevant work is *Baalbek: Image and Monument 1898–1998*, edited by Hélène Sader, Thomas Scheffler, and Angelika Neuwirth (1998). This volume was written on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the visit to Baalbek of Kaiser Wilhelm II. The collection of papers contained within the work falls mostly into the category of reception studies; however, part three of the book is devoted to the archaeology of Baalbek from the pre-Hellenistic period through to the Islamic period.

Such works of synthesis reveal an obvious shortcoming; there has been no full *scholarly* synthesis on Baalbek-Heliopolis, and most available works have been aimed at the lay reader as well as the scholar. Equally obvious is the fact that the primary focus of these works has been on the Sanctuary of Jupiter Heliopolitanus itself and other Temples in Baalbek and then again in the Roman period. There has been no attempt to create a synthesis exploring the landscape surrounding Baalbek. Finally, none of these synthetic treatments has been theoretically motivated, and most predate the debates on postprocessual archaeology that have taken place in Europe and North America. The approach adopted by these works is art historical rather than archaeological.

6 The paucity of academic sources for Baalbek-Heliopolis, particularly relating to archaeological work between the Second World War and the onset of the Lebanese civil war, forces the use of alternative texts such as those by Jidejian and Ragette.

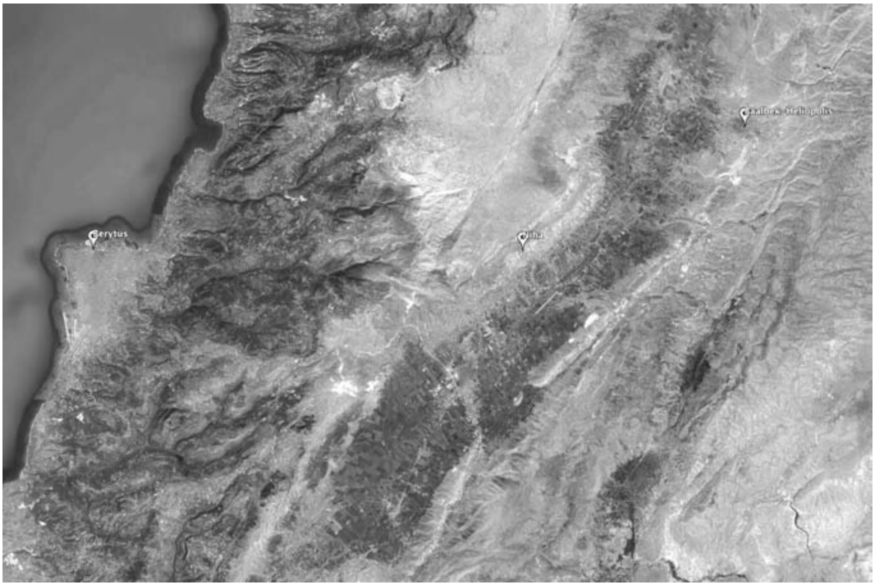

FIGURE 6 The location of Niha in the Bekaa valley in relation to Beirut and Baalbek

### 2.2.4 *Archaeological Studies of Niha and Hosn Niha*

The Roman Temple sites at Niha and Hosn Niha lie in a side valley running down from Mount Sannine in the Mount Lebanon range to the Bekaa valley. The location of the Temple site at Niha in relation to Beirut and Baalbek is shown in Figure 6. The name Niha derives from the ancient name, Nihatha (Aliquot 2009a, 300). The Temples at Niha lie at an altitude of 1100 m, around 130 m above the level of the Bekaa valley at this point (Yasmine 2013, 699–700). The modern village, which is coincident with the ancient village, is just below the site of the two Temples. The site at Hosn Niha lies at an altitude of 1350 m, around 2.5 km further up the valley (Yasmine 2013, 699). At Hosn Niha the main Temple complex is situated just above the remains of an ancient village, but today the site is remote from any settlements. A second religious complex with two shrines of nonclassical design is located to the west of the main sanctuary. The sites at Niha and Hosn Niha are illustrated in Figure 7.

The first archaeological work at Niha, as with most Roman sanctuary sites, was the survey by Krencker and Zschietzschmann (1938). The large and small Temples were partially reconstructed by Kalayan. Further analysis of the site was done in the 1950s and 1960s by Will (1959, 1966) and by Kalayan (Donceel 1966). After the civil war, Niha has been studied by Steinsapir (2005) and Yasmine (2005, 2006, 2009, 2013). At Hosn Niha the sequence of archaeological work again begins with Krencker and Zschietzschmann (1938). As at Niha, both

FIGURE 7 The relative location of the Roman Temple sites at Niha and Hosn Niha and the modern village of Niha

Steinsapir (2005) and Yasmine (2005, 2006, 2009, 2013) conducted landscape-focused studies. Survey work on the site and the ancient village in the context of archaeological sites damaged by conflict is reported by Newson and Young (2011, 2015). The recent archaeological work at Hosn Niha means that this site is perhaps better understood than the larger Temples at Niha.

### 2.2.5 *Archaeological Studies of the Bekaa*

There are in fact very few published archaeological studies of the Bekaa in any period or on the individual sanctuary sites in the region. The key work for this study is that of Daniel Krencker and Willy Zschietzschmann, *Römische Tempel in Syrien* (1938). Krencker and Zschietzschmann remains the only comprehensive study of Temple sites in the province of Roman Syria. Each site is described in detail with plans, line drawings, and photographs. This reference work is a record of the standing archaeological remains for all known Roman Temples in the region, including those of the Bekaa. No excavation was undertaken at any of the sites, and so Temples were dated either using epigraphic evidence or on stylistic grounds. Krencker and Zschietzschmann (1938) remains the standard reference work for the Temples of Roman Syria for good reason, as the recording of the archaeology is of a high standard and has not been repeated. However, the dating scheme proposed by the authors and the

failure to realise that many of the Temples had stairs leading to the roof has drawn criticism (Smith 1940). Today Krencker and Zschietzschmann (1938) is used only as a reference to the archaeological record, rather than for its analysis of it.

A partial survey of Temple sites in Roman Syria was conducted by Ann Irvine Steinsapir for her PhD thesis, *Roman Sanctuaries in Roman Syria: The Creation of a Sacred Landscape* (2005). The study, based on a year of fieldwork in Lebanon and Syria during 2002, examines the landscape archaeology of a selection of rural sanctuaries and Temple complexes in the Roman province of Syria. As such it is relevant to this work as it includes a small number of Roman sanctuary sites within the Bekaa valley and the city of Baalbek-Heliopolis itself within a larger study region. The approach to landscape that is adopted by Steinsapir is essentially the phenomenological "method" of Tilley (1994). Steinsapir explicitly recognizes that a major limitation of experiential approaches lies in their subjectivity. A second problem that Steinsapir suggests is that it is very difficult for modern archaeologists to "reinsert" themselves into past landscapes, noting that in pre-industrialised cultures, the landscape was not purely physical in dimension but contained the "supernatural" within it (Steinsapir 2005, 5). Steinsapir's physical archaeological method involves personal experience of the site and landscape. She notes visits to each site in her survey at different times of the day and night and at different times of the year (Steinsapir 2005, 7). Steinsapir spent time walking the paths that approach the Temple sites, noting the views of the sanctuaries (Steinsapir 2005, 7). While Steinsapir's work is theoretically grounded in phenomenology, there are problems with it. For example, despite the fact that Steinsapir's thesis is concerned with "sacred landscapes," indeed this term appears in both the title of the book and as the title of the first chapter, no discussion of the meaning of the term "sacred" is provided, nor of other related terms such as "religion" or "cult."

A second survey of note is that undertaken by the Israeli archaeologist Shimon Dar on Ituraean sites in the Hellenistic and Roman periods on Mount Hermon and published in *Settlements and Cult Sites on Mount Hermon, Israel* (Dar 1993). This work is controversial, as the survey region lies within the Israeli-occupied territory of the Golan Heights that was seized from Syria and Lebanon during the 1967 Six Day War. Dar's work is of potential importance to this study because of its focus on the Ituraean culture and because the survey region neighbours that discussed in this work and which runs to the northwestern slopes of Mount Hermon in the southern Bekaa valley. In particular, finds from the sanctuary of Har Senaim are believed to refer to Jupiter Heliopolitanus (Dar 1993, 62). However, care needs to be taken with some of Dar's conclusions, particularly the identification of sites as Ituraean. Dar's conclusions are based

largely on historical assumptions that are open to challenge, and this has led to criticism (Myers 2010, 80–81, Ma'oz 1997).

Two photographic surveys of the Temples identified by Krencker and Zschietzschmann that lie within the boundaries of Lebanon are also relevant to this study, although the works themselves are aimed at a popular audience. The first book is *The Roman Temples of Lebanon* by George Taylor (1967), which although now quite dated remains in print effectively as an English/French guidebook. The second is *Temples de l'epoque romaine au Lebanon* (2005) by Levon Nordiguian, which is more recent. Neither book offers any new archaeological insight into the Temples of Lebanon. However, both are valuable photographic records of sanctuary sites in Lebanon.

A volume on religious life in Lebanon, *La vie religieuse au Liban sous l'Empire Romain* by Aliquot (2009a) was published in 2009. This work is a new synthesis of religious activity in the Roman period within the boundaries of modern Lebanon, and as such it covers the Bekaa valley and Baalbek-Heliopolis. Aliquot covers the period from the first century BCE to the fourth century CE. While this is a very recent study, like all works on Roman Syria, it still relies on Krencker and Zschietzschmann (1938). However, Aliquot identifies 151 Temples at 120 sites, compared to the 48 monuments at 35 sites identified by (Krencker and Zschietzschmann 1938). Aliquot argues that what is lacking when studying the oriental cults is their context within history, religion, and Roman society and that all other previous studies of religious life in Lebanon only focused on the individuality of the sanctuaries and particular divinity. Aliquot bases his work on two main sources, epigraphy and cultural monuments. The objective of his study is the formation of the sacred landscape; during the Roman period, there are many sanctuaries constructed in the mountains, which are the result of local initiatives rather than the influence of the Romans. Aliquot also tries to show that the regional cults are independent of and precede Roman dominance. Continuity from the past through the Hellenistic and into the Roman period is what Aliquot seeks to demonstrate. As I will show later in this study, I reach different conclusions.

Aliquot also explores the so-called Heliopolitan Triad, as indeed I do later in Chapter 10. Aliquot reaches the conclusion that the triad existed but was a Roman invention, unlike Henri Seyrig, who concluded that it derived from Phoenician models.

### 2.2.6 *Epigraphic, Numismatic, and Iconographic Evidence*

For the study of Berytus, Baalbek, and the Bekaa valley in the Roman period, epigraphy is a rich source of evidence in no small part due to the excellent collection of inscriptions provided by Rey-Coquais (1967), covering the Bekaa

valley. This work forms volume 6 of *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie*, compiled by the Institut Français du Proche-Orient. Unfortunately, the part of this work covering Beirut, volume 8/1, has not yet been published. The inscriptions from Beirut and environs are therefore scattered across numerous publications. This work will make extensive use of epigraphic evidence in later chapters.

It is worth briefly reviewing the general problems with the use of epigraphic evidence here. There are three key issues to consider: reconstruction of inscriptions, provenance, and dating. The first key point is that the vast majority of recovered inscriptions are fragmentary and require a degree of reconstruction by an epigraphy specialist (Keppie 1991, 21–22). Roman inscriptions are typically very formulaic, which makes the process easier. But we should not forget the risk of errors introduced by this process. A second issue is one of provenance. Many inscriptions are not recovered from their original location (Keppie 1991, 30–33), and often inscribed stones were reused as foundation materials and so became spolia in later structures. The original context of the inscription is lost, although the reuse of inscribed stones in this way has also acted to save the inscription, and this is particularly true of those recovered from Baalbek. A great many of the inscriptions were recovered from the foundations of two free-standing columns in the Great Court of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus.[7] The final issue is one of dating. A few inscriptions, such as the one found in the Temple at Nebi Ham in the northern Bekaa, have a firm date. Most, however, do not, and dating relies on context, references within the text itself, the language, and abbreviations used in the text or the style of the carving, all of which are made more complicated if the inscription is fragmentary (Keppie 1991, 27–29).[8]

As was noted earlier in the context of the work of Ziad Sawaya (2009), numismatic evidence is a valuable source of historical information. Coins can provide information about architecture, deities, dating, and historical events, although care needs to be exercised when interpreting coin evidence. Images of architecture on coins, for example, provide some dating evidence for the structure portrayed. Frequently, the same form of image can be repeatedly used by the same mint, limiting how closely dates can be ascribed to the completion of buildings, and this reuse of symbols is clear in the coin sequence minted at Baalbek-Heliopolis (Sawaya 2009, 343–356). There is no guarantee that the coin

7 There is no evidence that the clearance work conducted by the first German archaeological mission disturbed inscriptions that were previously in situ; rather, any such movement of inscriptions was done either in antiquity or in the medieval period.

8 I have not been able to identify any information on regional styles of inscriptions for the Bekaa.

even postdates the construction of the building, and an image could easily represent a building as planned. In addition, there is a severe risk that the recovered coin population is incomplete, so we cannot be certain when a particular image was first used. At Baalbek-Heliopolis there is also a limitation from the fact that the city did not mint its own coins until the reign of Septimus Severus, and so there is no direct evidence from coins prior to around 194 CE (Sawaya 2009, 230).

Iconographic evidence can also be useful and is particularly important in the analysis of the so-called Heliopolitan Triad. I do not propose to conduct a full analysis of the iconography of Jupiter Heliopolitanus and the associated Heliopolitan deities here but rather to assess the association between deities when representations of different deities are grouped together. The key issue when using iconographic representations in this way is how certain an identification of the deity can be made. Inconsistency in cult representation and the impact of local style can make this process difficult. The Heliopolitan Triad, consisting of the deities Jupiter, Mercury, and Venus, has become an established element of the religious heritage associated with Baalbek-Heliopolis. Studies of Baalbek by Ragette (1980, 19) and Jidejian (1975, 45) present the triad as confirmed beyond reasonable doubt. However, in common with Fergus Millar (1993, 282), I will demonstrate that there is indeed considerable doubt surrounding the existence of the Heliopolitan Triad using iconographic evidence in particular.[9]

### 2.2.7 *Historical Sources*

Polybius and Livy provide historical evidence for the early Hellenistic period. Polybius's *Histories* provide an account of Roman interaction with the Hellenistic kingdoms down to 146 BCE, including events in the Near East. Livy's *History of Rome* covers the same events, although he was writing a century later than the events he describes. The geographer Strabo mentions both Berytus (XVI.18–22) and Heliopolis (XVI.10), as might be expected.

For the late Hellenistic and early Roman period, there is only one major historical source, and that is Josephus in his *Jewish Antiquities* and *Jewish War*. Josephus provides a detailed historical account of the events in the region, covering the Hellenistic period and Roman period down to the end of the first century CE. After Josephus's account ends, detailed historical information for later events in the Levant is lacking. Josephus was a Jewish writer who was born

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9 Chapter 10 discusses the so-called Heliopolitan Triad in detail. A review of the previous literature on the Heliopolitan Triad is included in Chapter 5, as it is directly relevant to understanding how earlier archaeologists concluded that there is evidence for a triad.

in Jerusalem in 37 CE (Rajak 2002, 11, 14–15) to a family from the priestly caste and a descendant of the Hasmonean kings. As is well known, Josephus took an active part in the Jewish revolt until captured in Galilee, after which he acted on behalf of the Roman Army and then left for Rome in 70 CE with Titus, taking up residence in Vespasian's old house (Rajak 2002, 11). Josephus spent the rest of his life writing history and composing his *Jewish War* and then his *Jewish Antiquities*, which was completed in 93–94 CE (Rajak 2002, 237). As a source for the history of the first century CE in the Levant, Josephus is unsurpassed, as he was an eyewitness to the Jewish revolt. Indeed, his own stated aim was to write an accurate, balanced account (Josephus, *BJ*. 1.1–4). In *Antiquities* Josephus relies on earlier sources, but as a member of the local elite he would have been well versed in the regional history. Josephus therefore provides a vital source for the history of the Levant in the first century BCE and the first century CE. However, it still remains the case that he presents only limited information about Berytus and the Bekaa valley, as it lay outside his central concern, which was Judea.

The second writer of importance to this work is the late Roman author Macrobius, who gave a description of the cult and ritual activity at Baalbek in his *Saturnalia* (1.23.10–21), which is reproduced in full in appendix B. Macrobius records that Trajan consulted an oracle at Baalbek prior to his campaign against the Parthians (Macrobius 1.23.14–16). There are, however, a number of problems with the use of Macrobius. Firstly, he was writing in the late fourth and early fifth centuries, long after the events he described and potentially after the Temple to which he refers had been converted to a Christian basilica (Cameron 1966). Secondly, he identifies Jupiter Heliopolitanus with the Roman deities Apollo and Sol, for which there is no other evidence (Macrobius 1.23.10–13). He also suggests that the statue of the Jupiter Heliopolitanus came to Heliopolis from the Egyptian town of the same name via Assyria (Macrobius 1.23.10), although the description Macrobius gives of the cult statue matches other representations of Jupiter Heliopolitanus from figures and bas-relief carvings. Macrobius's description of "Assyrian" deities concludes with a description of Adad and Atargatis; the former he associates with the sun but not directly with Jupiter. As Fergus Millar points out, this should not be used as the basis of an analysis of the cults worshipped at Baalbek (Millar 1993, 285).

Lucian's *De Dea Syria* is potentially important in two contexts. Firstly, the work is ostensibly a treatise on the worship of Atargatis at Hierapolis in Syria and therefore potentially provides insight on religious activity. This is significant as Atargatis was also worshipped at Niha. Secondly, the author makes direct reference to Baalbek-Heliopolis: "The Phoenicians have another Temple,

not Assyrian, but Egyptian, which came to Phoenicia from Heliopolis. I have not seen it, but it too is large and ancient" (*De Dea Syria*, 5, translated by J.L. Lightfoot).

This passage will be analysed in detail later in Chapter 10. However, it is important to note here the potential difficulty in the use of Lucian as a source. The work is known to deliberately use the style of Herodotus, and while some scholars have disputed whether or not it is correctly attributed to Lucian (See for example Dirven 1997, 169), detailed analysis by Lightfoot (2003) has established that Lucian was author through comparison with other works. Given Lucian's noted prominence as a satirist, great care must be placed in interpreting this work. Nevertheless, as Kaizer (2016b) has shown, the work is a valuable source.

Berytus was a major city in the Near East throughout antiquity and as a result is mentioned by a number of ancient writers, including Tacitus (*Hist.* II.49–51), Herodian (III.3), Ammianus Marcellinus (XIV.8), and Eunapius (118–120). There are also numerous writers from late antiquity who refer to Berytus (See Hall 2004 for details).

There are other authors who refer to Baalbek. Eusebius of Caesarea (*Constantine* III.58), for example, noted the destruction of the Temple of Venus at Heliopolis and the prohibition of ritual prostitution by Constantine. There is no archaeological evidence suggesting that ritual prostitution took place at Baalbek-Heliopolis, although Lucian (*De Dea Syria* 6) notes that it was associated with rituals at Byblos. Given that we have no identification of a Temple of Venus, it is impossible to identify if there was any deliberate destruction of a Temple at Baalbek-Heliopolis. Eusebius notes the construction of a church by Constantine, although it impossible to link this with the later Christian basilica, which is thought to postdate Constantine and has been associated by some with Theodosius (Ragette 1980, 68–69). Cameron and Hall (1999, 305) suggest that Eusebius's passage should be viewed cautiously. Writers such as Eusebius refer exclusively to Baalbek in the late Roman period and are, like Eusebius, Christian writers hostile to non-Christian worship. As such their work lies outside the bounds of this book.

## 2.3 Method and Theory

This monograph is principally a study of the transformation of the sacred landscape of the Bekaa valley from the late Hellenistic period to the fourth century CE. As such it is a study involving landscape and religion. This section describes the methodology that will be used in later sections of the monograph to under-

stand both elements archaeologically. Hence this section provides the appropriate terms of reference for the study as a whole. However, it is not sufficient to merely present the methodology used, and a reflexive approach requires that the approach to archaeology be self-critical.[10] The discourse also aims to illustrate the potential theoretical difficulties in the chosen approach to the archaeology. The theoretical discussion is divided into two parts: a discussion of the archaeology of religion and a discussion of the archaeology of landscape, including sacred landscapes. The section concludes with a brief overview of the statistical analysis that is used in Chapter 10 and the application of GIS techniques as applied in Chapter 11.

### 2.3.1 *The Archaeology of Religion*

One of the primary subjects of this work is the sacred landscape of the Bekaa valley. This section contains a critique of archaeological approaches to religion principally designed so as to understand the potential deficiencies in my own analysis.

The first step to understanding the archaeology of religion is to define what we mean by "religion"; this is significantly less straightforward than it might immediately appear. In archaeology numerous terms are used to refer to "religious" activity: "religion" of course, alongside "cult" and "the sacred" and, infamously, "ritual," often used loosely to refer to anything that the archaeologist does not understand or that may have religious significance. Despite this preponderance of terminology, the archaeology of religion has received little attention, and as Tim Insoll (2004, 1) points out, previous archaeological approaches have been remarkably naïve and the subject poorly theorised.

That Christianity plays a major role in the definition of religion, even in the twenty-first century, should come as no surprise. It is important to note, as Bowie points out, that religion is an entirely European category and may not be readily translatable to other cultural contexts (Bowie 2006, 19). The word "religion" itself derives from the fourth century Vulgate, attributed to Saint Jerome, where the Greek *threskeia* was translated as *religio* in Latin (Bowie 2006, 20). However, even the Latin word *religio* may be misleading, as in a Roman context, *religio* and its opposite, *superstitio*, were used to refer to "proper" and "improper" religious behaviour (Beard, North, and Price 1998, 215). *Religio* was

10 Here the term 'reflexive' is meant in the sense of Critical Theory, that is archaeology should be considered critically and treated as a continuous process of knowledge discovery in the present, rather than as a 'fixed past' simply to be uncovered (See for example Hodder 1999, 178–187).

often used to describe traditional religious practice of honouring the gods; bad Roman emperors were criticised for their lack of piety. Suetonius, for example, criticised Nero:

> He despised all religious cults except that of the Syrian Goddess, and showed, one day, that he had changed his mind about her, by urinating on the divine image. He had come, instead, to rest a superstitious belief—the only one, as a matter of fact, to which he remained faithful—in the statuette of a girl sent him by an anonymous commoner as a charm against conspiracies.
>
> SUETONIUS, *Nero* 56, translated by RUPERT GRAVES

As is clear from Suetonius, Nero engaged in irregular religious practice, which was labelled *superstitio*. *Superstitio* was a pejorative term, and neither it nor *religio* can be regarded as anything other than discursive categories (Beard, North, and Price 1998, 215). *Superstitio* could include "addiction" to religion or excessive devotion as well as magic (Beard, North, and Price 1998, 217–218). *Superstitio* had to be taken seriously, as it was not regarded as false religion in the early imperial period. It was only with later Christian writers such as Lactantius that a *religio* was associated with worship of the Christian God and *superstitio* associated with the practice of false religion (Lactantius IV.28.11). We must take care, therefore, with the use of the word "religion" and take account of its status as a modern term of European origin when approaching religion in historical and archaeological contexts. Placed in the context of the colony, we must understand that when we use the word "religion," no equivalent term would have been used by those worshipping at the time. The distinction between *religio* and *superstitio* would have been important in the development of ritual practice within the colony. Indeed, one could suppose that there would have been considerable tension between what was considered *religio* and what was considered *superstitio* in a Latin colony ostensibly worshipping a deity with at least some characteristics from the Near East.

Of course "religion" is not the only word that has been used by archaeologists and anthropologists to describe "religious activity." "Spiritual" is one alternative, but, as Insoll suggests, it is a weak, nonspecific term (Insoll 2004, 5). "Cult" is a frequently used term in archaeology and in Roman history. "Imperial cult" was given to the Roman emperor and imperial family (Price 1984), and the different religious practices of the Roman world are frequently described as cults (see for example Turcan 1996). Religious activity is also often labelled "cult" in archaeology, as is clear from the book *The Archaeology of Cult* (Renfrew, Mountjoy, and Macfarlane 1985). The problem with the word "cult" is that it points

to the marginal through its association with modern-day religious cults that have achieved notoriety such as Unification Church, led by Sun Myung Moon. Scholars of such modern groups now prefer the term "new religious movement" precisely because of the negative connotations of the word "cult" (See for example Barker 1989). "Sacred" is another word frequently used to describe religious contexts in archaeology; in particular we hear "sacred" often used in spatial contexts, such as "sacred space" or "sacred landscapes." The word "sacred" is derived from the Latin word *sacer*, meaning consecrated to a divinity, and so is another word with western European origins (See the Oxford English Dictionary, 2002). The problem archaeologists face then is that the conceptual framework surrounding the study of religion is embedded with Western cultural assumptions. To suggest an alternative set of terminology would not be useful either; there are no practical alternatives. The only realistic choice is to continue to use words such as "religion," "cult," and "sacred." However, we should not apply these terms in an unthinking manner, and we must avoid transferring implicit modern Western cultural assumptions to non-Western and nonmodern contexts. In the context of this study, I will use the words "religion" and "cult" interchangeably and use both to refer to the archaeology of religion. I will use "sacred" in the context of physical spaces associated with religion.

As noted above, archaeologists have often ignored religion entirely, and so there is a limited body of archaeological theory upon which this study can draw. As Insoll points out, the introductory texts by Greene (2002) and Gambles (2001) do not mention religion at all (Insoll 2004, 2). Religion is treated specifically in the texts by Thomas (1998) and Renfrew and Bahn (2000, 406–412), although specifically within a cognitive-processual framework. Archaeologists working within a processual framework, do in general address religion. Binford, for example, ultimately discarded religion as "epiphenomenal" (Insoll 2005, 47). Where processual archaeologies address religion, it is usually seen as a social subsystem. Postprocessual and phenomenological works also neglect religion, sometimes entirely, a significant issue for my own work, given my intention to apply phenomenology to the landscape of the Bekaa valley. Major works, such as those by Shanks and Tilley (1987) and Julian Thomas (1996), do not address religion directly (Insoll 2004, 78–79). As noted previously, Shanks and Tilley work within a Marxist paradigm, so perhaps this is not so surprising (Shanks and Tilley 1987, 165–175), and religion is brought within the bounds of ideology (Insoll 2005, 46). Religion, in most of these contexts, is barely addressed, let alone defined.

The one branch of archaeology that does specifically consider religion is cognitive processualism, whose major exponent is Colin Renfrew. Renfrew, however, does not provide a formal definition of religion. He does criticise other

definitions of religion that involve "divine ruling" powers, as this would exclude Confucianism, which is widely regarded as a religion despite the fact that it does not refer to specific deities (Renfrew 1994a, 48). Durkheim (2001, 46)[11] and Geertz (1966, 4),[12] he points out, were able to able to define religion without reference to the supernatural, although in the case of Geertz, Renfrew suggests that the definition is so broad as to encompass purely secular ritual (Renfrew 1994a, 48). Geertz's definition of religion thus lacks any kind of explanatory power. Personal experience of the divine is something that Renfrew regards as central to any viable definition of religion. Renfrew thus follows the work of anthropologists like Frazer and Eliade in recognising the importance of personal belief. Renfrew prefers ultimately to provide a schema for recognising religious ritual archaeologically.[13]

Insoll similarly provides no definition of religion in his book, *Archaeology, Ritual, Religion*, suggesting rather that:

> In many respects it is indefinable, being concerned with thoughts, beliefs, actions and material and how these are weighted will vary; but, in general terms, the simpler the definition the better. The important point to make is that regardless of the complexities of definition which have been attempted—we have to recognise that religion also includes the intangible, the irrational, and the indefinable.
>
> INSOLL 2004, 7

Despite his reluctance to construct a definition, Insoll raises a key point that we will return to later, that religion includes elements that are not rational. Here Insoll draws explicitly on the work of Rudolf Otto (1950). Unlike previous archaeologists who have seen religion as a social, symbolic, or ideological phenomena to be rationalised and explained, Insoll is prepared to entertain the idea that the power of religion may lie in the unexplainable.

A weak, inclusive definition, such as that provided by Geertz (2008, 74), is not particularly useful in a research context. However, other more restrictive

11 "A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and surrounded by prohibitions—beliefs and practices that unite its adherents in a single moral community called a church" (Durkheim 2001, 46).

12 "(1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic" (Geertz 1966, 4).

13 Renfrew's schema will be considered in more detail in the later discussion of archaeology and ritual.

definitions clearly have their problems too. Definition of the sacred in terms of the profane may well be useful in cultures where there is a strict division, but in many contexts, religion could be seen as part of daily life. In a Roman environment, one might think of how the household gods are invoked in everyday life and ask how such a division between sacred and profane exists in this context. Definitions that focus on individual experience of religion give centrality to human agency but also neglect the social aspects of shared belief (Renfrew 1994a, 49). It is also important to recognise that not all people involved in religious activity necessarily had the same kind of religious experience, and indeed some had no experience or belief but still took part in religious rituals. Postprocessual archaeology does provide a framework that is suitable for analysingreligion. The social aspects of religion are crucial, but it is essential not to lose sight of the importance of human experience of the divine. The definition of just what constitutes religion should be contextual and open to interpretation, and it is in this way that a reflexive approach to archaeological research provides a suitable way forward.

### 2.3.2 *Syncretism and Interpretatio Romana*

There are two concepts relating to religious change in the Roman world that need to be explored: syncretism and *interpretatio Romana*. Religious syncretism is defined as "the amalgamation of religious beliefs and practices in such a way that the original features of the religions in question have become obscured" (Bowker 2000, 569). Religious syncretism is the fusion of different beliefs into a hybrid. It has become a pejorative term in the context of world religions (Bowie 2006, 252) but not in the context of the study of ancient religion.

*"Interpretatio Romana"* is a similar but distinct concept, defined as "broad identification among Greeks and Romans of a foreign godhead with a member of their own pantheons" (Ando 2005, 41). The concept is usually studied in the linguistic realm as a means whereby Romans named foreign deities in terms that they understood (Ando 2005, 41).[14] It appears once in Latin literature in

14 Kaizer (2013, 116) reflects on the term "syncretism" and identifies three types: unequivocal syncretism in the form of composite deities or identified through bilingual naming; embedded syncretism, where a deity with a name from one tradition is depicted with the attributes of a deity from another; and academic syncretism. The key questions, Kaizer (2013, 117) suggests, are who is the deity and how can one tell who the deity is? There are several different answers to these questions, including, "the deity is who the king says it is" and, "the deity is who the worshipper says it is," Millar's approach. However, even worshipper identification is not straightforward. Identification of deities in the Near East should begin with the local context (Kaizer 2013, 128).

Tacitus's *Germania* (43.4): "In the land of the Nahanarvali is displayed a grove long held in awe. A priest in woman's dress presides, but the gods they speak of in Roman translation as Castor and Pollux: that is the essence of this divine power; the actual name is the Alci."[15] The key question, as Ando (2005, 41–42) points out, is what does Tacitus mean? Does he mean that the gods are the same everywhere but known by different names in different places, or, alternatively, is *Interpretatio Romana* an interpretation mechanism whereby foreign deities can be recognised in Roman terms? Evidence from epigraphic studies of Celtic deities in Roman Britain suggest strongly that *interpretatio* is central to the Roman understanding of non-Roman religion (Webster 1995, 153–161). Here *interpretatio* takes two forms, *naming*, where a classical deity is specified but an indigenous deity is actually being invoked, and *pair-naming*, where the indigenous deity is linked with a member of the classical pantheon.[16] The specific context of Romano-Celtic studies should serve as a warning to other regions, as the entire understanding of Celtic religion has been constructed entirely on the basis of post-conquest material in a largely uncritical manner (Webster 1995, 154).

A key issue is that naming an indigenous deity in Roman terms is the establishment of a power relationship, the imposition of one belief system over another (Webster 1995, 158). Naming was an asymmetric process and should be understood in the context of conquest, where victory was taken as a sign that foreign gods had bowed to the superiority of Rome and become Roman deities (Webster 1995, 158). The people performing the naming were of course the Latin-literate elite, and the evidence from Roman Britain suggests that this was especially true of pair-naming (Webster 1995, 157). *Interpretatio Romana* is, therefore, a colonial discourse.

Nevertheless, *Interpretatio Romana* should itself not be used uncritically in a modern context. In particular it is important that we do not introduce artificial constructs, such as pair-names, which were never actually used in the ancient world. Kropp (2010, 230), for example, notes the danger of constructs such as Jupiter-Hadad and Venus-Atargatis in the context of Baalbek-Heliopolis, as we have no evidence that the deities were ever named in this way.

15 Translated by J.B. Rives.

16 If only a classical deity is named, then it is impossible to distinguish between the invocation of the classical god and the invocation of a local deity that has been subsumed by a classical deity.

### 2.3.3 *Rome, "Oriental" Cults and the Study of Religion in the Near East*

The study of religion in the Roman Near East has often been seen as synonymous with the term "Oriental cult." The religions so identified were seen as having origins in the Fertile Crescent, Asia Minor, Persia, or Egypt and were later found throughout the Roman Empire (Kaizer 2006, 28). The term "Oriental cult" derives largely from the work of Franz Cumont (1911) in his book *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*. These religions, he suggests could be characterised by their appeal to the senses, passions, intelligence, and conscience (Cumont 1911, 29). He saw these "oriental religions" as a distinctive type of mystery religion that offered afterlife (Kaizer 2006, 28). As such these religions paved the way for the later success of Christianity (Kaizer 2006, 28). It is immediately clear that the whole idea of "oriental cults" is problematic. Many of the religions categorised by Cumont as "oriental" cannot be readily claimed to have an eastern origin (Beard, North, and Price 1998, 246). His work is highly generalising and unifies disparate religious practice where there was in fact no commonality (Kaizer 2006, 28). Of course the use of the term "oriental" itself is one that has been resoundingly challenged by Edward Said (1978).

If "oriental cults" is an inappropriate unit of study, how should archaeologists and historians approach the study of religion in the Roman Near East? There are four key issues to explore: understanding the relationship between local cults and wider patterns of worship, the difficulties presented by ancient representations of Near Eastern religion, iconography, and *Interpretatio Graeca/Interpretatio Romana*.

As Kaizer (2006, 28–29) notes, it is legitimate to explore wider patterns of worship as long as generalising assumptions are avoided. It is important to our analysis of the past to be able to conduct comparative study. In general gods and cults should be interpreted first in their local context, and the fact that many deities were named after localities (Jupiter Heliopolitanus being one example of this) suggests that worshippers themselves identified deities with local cultural elements (Kaizer 2006, 40). Where the name of a deity was the same in multiple centres then, this is perhaps best interpreted as a network of local cults with shared elements rather than interpreting this as an organised "oriental cult" (Kaizer 2006, 41).

One problem with modern historical studies of ancient Near Eastern religion is the great care that must be taken when interpreting the presentation of the divine world in ancient sources. Sources such as Philo of Byblos, Lucian's *De Dea Syria*, and Macrobius[17] are themselves interpretations but have not been treated as such by past historians (Kaizer 2006, 31–35). In particular it is impor-

17 See section 2.2.7.

tant to note that there was no Semitic pantheon, despite what these writers might suggest, and it is doubtful that there were even pantheons at local level (Kaizer 2006, 31). There are few contemporary texts available to study, and evidence comes mostly in the form of archaeology and epigraphy. The accounts of early Christian writers are often hostile and distorted (Kaizer 2006, 31), making them unreliable.

Iconography is an important element of study of Near Eastern religion and one that allows some comparisons to be made between different localities. As Kaizer (2006, 41) points out, there are often strong similarities in iconographic representations of Near Eastern deities, although with variation in details. It is also clear that the iconography of Venus Heliopolitana, for example, drew on a range of divine features from Roman Syria (Kropp 2010, 230), and hence iconography is one area where wider regional patterns in religion can be studied while avoiding generalising assumptions.

Finally, it is essential to return to *Interpretatio Romana* and *Interpretatio Graeca*. The texts discussed above are precisely examples of these two processes in which Near Eastern religion is interpreted through a Romano-Greek lens. The naming of local deities with Roman names is clearly present in the Near East. Jupiter Dolichanus is one clear example of a local deity from Doliche in Asia Minor that was named for and associated with Capitoline Jupiter (Turcan 1996, 159–169). With development of inland cult centres like Baalbek-Heliopolis occurring mostly in the Roman period (Kaizer 2006, 38), almost everything that is known about religious practice is from the Roman era, and great care should therefore be taken interpreting supposed "indigenous" elements of religious practice (Kaizer 2006, 39).

### 2.3.4 *Ritual*

> [There is] the widest possible disagreement as to how the word ritual should be understood.
>
> LEACH 1968

What do we mean by "ritual" in an archaeological context? This apparently simple question is, in fact, immensely problematic. Ritual is not the straightforward process that it is often assumed to be by archaeologists (Insoll 2004, 10). Nor should it be blindly equated with religion, which it often is, or with anything that the archaeologist is not able to interpret in other ways (Insoll 2004, 12). Nevertheless, ritual is central to the practice of religion and as such is critical to any archaeological research on religion. Religious ritual is also something that we have evidence for at Baalbek in the writings of Macrobius.

This section begins by exploring how modern anthropology has defined ritual and specifically religious ritual. The section will then discuss how archaeology might recover evidence for ritual activity and the problems that are inherent in such work. Ritual is a significant factor in this work, and it is essential, therefore, to explore the theoretical problems with such a study before proceeding to conduct the analysis itself.

The anthropologist Roy Rappaport, noted for his work among the Tsembaga Maring of New Guinea and his posthumously published work *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity* (1999), defined ritual as "the performance of more or less invariant sequences of formal acts and utterances not entirely encoded by the performers." In this definition there is no mention of religion; ritual can be religious but need not be. Secondly, ritual involves sequences that recur time and again and rely not just on the people performing the ritual. Finally, Rappaport describes the people doing the ritual as *performers*; rituals are performed and contain elements that are *theatrical*. Nevertheless, ritual is not mere theatre.

A second prominent definition of religious ritual was provided by Victor Turner, who suggested that it could be defined as "prescribed formal behavior for occasions not given over to technical routine, having reference to beliefs in mystical (or nonempirical) beings or powers regarded as the first and final causes of all effects" (Turner 1982, 79). Turner defined ritual in a similar fashion to Rappaport, although the definition here is simpler and makes no reference to experience or performance, which might be adjudged strange when compared to other elements of Turner's work, such as his work on carnival, film, and theatre in *The Anthropology of Performance* (1988). Here Turner suggests that the distinguishing feature of religious ritual is reference to mystical beings or powers.

Other definitions of ritual emphasise the symbolic, such as that by Tambiah: "Ritual is a culturally constructed system of symbolic communication. It is constituted of patterned and ordered sequences of words and acts, often expressed in multiple media, whose content and arrangement are characterised in varying degree by formality (conventionality), stereotype (rigidity), condensation (fusion), and redundancy (repetition)" (Tambiah 1981, 119). Tambiah uses similar elements to other authors, such as formality and repetition. He also regards ritual as a method of "symbolic communication" and thus follows Durkheim and Geertz in emphasising symbolism in anthropological interpretation. To Tambiah the importance of ritual lies in what it represents rather than the role that it plays in society.

A third important definition of ritual and the role that it plays was given by Catherine Bell, who is especially noted for her work on ritual in *Ritual Theory,*

*Ritual Practice* (Bell 1992) and *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (Bell 1997). Bell defines six different categories of action:

1. Rites of passage of "life crisis" rituals.
2. Calendrical and commemorative rites.
3. Rites of exchange and communion.
4. Rites of affliction.
5. Rites of feasting, fasting and festivals.
6. Political rituals.

BELL 1997, 89

Significantly, Bell does not include a separate category for religious ritual. To conclude, from the work of these anthropologists, ritual can be clearly separated from religion. As Bell's categories would suggest, rituals can be political or related to exchange rather than be religious. Religion does play a role, and Turner suggests that through reference to the divine, religion can enter ritual contexts. Ritual is not religion, nor vice versa, but religious rituals are central to the practice of religion. These definitions also characterise ritual particularly through formality and repetition, and it is these elements of ritual, as we will see later, that allow ritual to be recognised archaeologically.

As noted above, ritual contains elements of performance. This raises a number of important questions in a general anthropological sense, as well as questions specific to religious ritual and to archaeological interpretation. Rituals do not follow a script in the sense of a play, but they are repetitive and invoke a sense of "drama." Victor Turner suggests that theatre inherited much from ritual and that theatre as a genre has developed separately particularly in the post-industrialised world of specialised labour to reduce the broad sociocultural ritual to a specialised entertainment genre (Turner 1986, 42). A key point then is how to distinguish pure theatre from ritual proper. Richard Schechner, drawing on the work of Victor Turner in *From Ritual to Theatre and Back: the Human Seriousness of Play* (1982), distinguished between the two on the grounds of function: if the performance is designed to effect some transformation, then it is a ritual; if the purpose is to entertain, then it is theatre (Schechner 2003, 120). In practice, however, the boundary between the two is blurred (Bowie 2006, 146).

The performance and repeated elements of ritual can also be seen in terms of commemorative behaviour. As Paul Connerton (1990, 45) suggests, "all rites are repetitive and repetition automatically implies continuity with the past." Yet there are categories of ritual that explicitly claim continuity of the past and are a reenactment of myth. In this way ritual can be said to encode social or collec-

tive memory. In a religious context, this is especially clear through, for example, the Jewish commemoration of Passover and the Exodus from Egypt (Connerton 1990, 45). In Christianity the commemoration of the Passion of Christ is not mythical but historical and dateable. The Eucharistic prayer, immediately preceding the communion rite, draws explicitly on a passage in the Gospel: "Then he took a loaf of bread, and when he had given thanks, he broke it and gave it to them saying, 'this is my body, which is given for you. Do this in remembrance of me.'" (Luke: 22.19, NRSV) Memory of a historical event is embedded directly in a commemorative ritual.

Ritual as performance or commemorative act should also remind us of the ephemeral nature of ritual. Ritual might be repetitive, but just like the stage play, each performance or experience of it is unique. A ritual that is lost or forgotten cannot be recovered readily unless the ritual is recorded. The transitory nature of ritual is obviously a significant problem for archaeology and one that I will return to later.

Ritual encodes memory as well as physical structures. War memorials are clearly commemorative monuments, but we should not neglect the associated ritual annual remembrance ceremony that accompanies them. This suggests that there may well be rituals associated with other commemorative features in the landscape. In the context of Baalbek and the Bekaa, I will explore the landscape through memory, and it is important, therefore, not to neglect the ritual aspects of this memory in favour of monumentality.

Ritual is active, dynamic, and essentially about performance. Archaeology recovers the traces of past material culture from static contexts and then constructs an interpretation. The archaeology of ritual would, therefore, seem to be an inordinately difficult discipline to make progress in. Some rituals may leave no physical traces whatsoever and therefore be impossible for the archaeologist to recover (Kyriakidis 2007, 9). Nevertheless, ritual does leave material traces, which means that through its repetitive element, ritual activity has a greater chance of being recovered than other more transient activities; accordingly, there is an implicit bias toward ritual activity in the archaeological record (Kyriakidis 2007, 9).

How should we recognise ritual in the archaeological record and specifically religious ritual? Renfrew suggests a four-part scheme to aid in identification:

> 1. Attention focusing.
> 2. Special aspects of the liminal zone.
> 3. Presence of the transcendent and its symbolic focus.
> 4. Participation and offering.
>
> RENFREW 2007, 115

Of these four points, the central two are most appropriate to specifically religious ritual, while points 1 and 4 could apply to secular ritual as well. This scheme, along with a more developed version in Renfrew and Bahn (2000, 408–409), allows the archaeologist to recognise the characteristic elements of ritual activity, although noting that not all will be present at any one site.

Even with aids to recognition, the archaeology of ritual is far from straightforward. Kyriakidis lists five key issues that archaeologists need to address when searching for evidence of ritual: "Issues include the similarity of individual rituals within a system, the common use of one space for the performance of multiple rituals, the disjunction between ritual practice and belief, the inseparability of ritual and the mundane spheres, and the finding of ritual items in secondary contexts" (Kyriakidis 2007, 9). As Kyriakidis (2007, 10) points out, many rituals within a system appear similar and use similar elements, such as the same collection of artefact. It is therefore very difficult to separate rituals in the same group archaeologically. A similar problem lies in the reuse of the same physical location for rituals. A Christian church and associated artifactual paraphernalia are reused for a number of different rituals. Some elements, such as the font, are only used for one ritual, thus allowing it to be uniquely identified (Kyriakidis 2007, 14). We should also be careful not to assume that continuity of ritual implies continuity of associated belief (Kyriakidis 2007, 16) As Colin Renfrew notes in the context of secular rituals associated with the British monarchy, rituals can outlast their original motivation and become an independent social focus (Renfrew 2007, 117). In the same way, rituals can exist independently of any associated beliefs. This is particularly important in the context of the early Islamic period, where prayer rituals followed Early Christian practice (Kyriakidis 2007, 16). A fourth major issue, especially in the context of religious ritual, is how to separate ritual from non-ritual activity. Spaces associated with ritual activity frequently have other uses too and often have non-ritual areas within them (Kyriakidis 2007, 17), and ritual artefacts can be stored alongside ritual ones. Finally, the archaeological material recovered may not be found in the context associated with the ritual activity (Kyriakidis 2007, 20). Ritual spaces are frequently cleaned after the ritual activity has taken place, with artefactual evidence deposited elsewhere. It may therefore be impossible to identify the locale associated with a ritual from the site where the associated artefact assemblage was recovered.

To conclude, we should note that in the context of this book, a postprocessual approach to the archaeology of religious ritual is appropriate. The definition of religion applied here is a contextual one in that I recognise the Temple sites as locations associated with religion and activities associated with those sites as religious. Religious ritual is an important element that will be consid-

ered in this work, and I note that the "model" provided by Colin Renfrew is a useful aid to recognising religious ritual.

### 2.3.5 *Theoretical Approaches to Landscape Archaeology*

Phenomenological archaeological techniques have been central to recent developments in landscape archaeology. As such phenomenology is one approach that will be used in this book. In this section I explore the technique critically and assess its potential utility.

Phenomenological archaeology is derived from the phenomenological philosophical movement of the early twentieth century. In the Western philosophical tradition, there is a relationship between mind and body; the structural duality between the mind (inside) and the body (outside) is central to the Cartesian perspective (Descartes 1996, 17). "Twentieth-century" thought diverged from this in the ontology of Heidegger (1962), Merleau-Ponty (1962), and others. In phenomenology there is no such binary distinction, and we perceive the world through our interactions with it. Archaeologists began to consider phenomenology in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Julian Thomas, for example, used the philosophy of Martin Heidegger to construct an archaeological framework for the study of material culture, specifically Neolithic artifacts, in his book *Time, Culture and Identity* (1996). Christopher Gosden's *Social Being and Time* (1994) is also heavily influenced by the work of Martin Heidegger. In a similar fashion, Christopher Tilley used Maurice Merleau-Ponty's *Phenomenology of Perception* (1962) to construct a new approach to landscape archaeology.

Phenomenological archaeology is similar in broad conception to the postprocessual archaeology of Ian Hodder (1999), the main difference lying simply in the direct use of philosophical ideas as a theoretical justification for the approach. All of these archaeologies share the key feature that they are subjective and "human-centred" in contrast to processual archaeology, which is focused on systems and largely ignores individual human agency. Phenomenology, then, considers real lived human experience paramount; for example, the phrase "lived landscape" is one that frequently occurs in phenomenological approaches to landscape. There are numerous uses of this terminology in archaeological contexts; for example, Michael Given does so in the context of a reference to Tilley's work (Given 2004, 85), as does Lynn Meskell in her *Archaeologies of Materiality* (Meskell 2003, 137). At the same time, phenomenology is also part of the broader postmodernist tradition and so accepts that we can never escape our own cultural context. We can never, therefore, reconstruct the past. Our analysis is in some sense a "historical fantasy" that has its meaning purely in the present, for the archaeologist in the here and now. Given the inevitable subjectivity of archaeological interpretation in the postprocessual

approach to archaeology, there is no single "archaeology"; rather there are a multitude of different interpretations and archaeologies. Archaeology is thus said to be multivocal (Sorensen 2005, 119).

Christopher Tilley and others have developed a phenomenological method of landscape archaeology. This involves direct personal experience of an archaeological landscape. Tilley, for example, gave a detailed description of his walk around the Dorset Cursus Monument in *A Phenomenology of Landscape* (1994). The following excerpt from Tilley gives a flavour of the analytical method: "A few hundred meters beyond the barrow the Cursus begins to dip down, at first gently, and then very steeply into a dry valley. Today the valley is cut along its bottom by a deep drainage ditch, which is water-filled in winter. At the time of construction and use of the Cursus the valley bottom would have been boggy land, and water-filled for much of the year" (Tilley 1994, 181). Detailed description of the personal experience of the archaeologist is central to the method and aims to "capture" that experience and pass it on to the reader. Similarly, in his recent book, *The Materiality of Stone* (2004), Tilley examined the visual experience of standing stones in northern France, looking in detail at the colours and textures of the stones (Tilley 2004, 33–86).

Criticisms of phenomenology can be made, in particular of the pure subjectivity that is implicit in the method. After all, the archaeologist records his or her own personal subjective experience of the landscape under study. The problem is this: if we cannot escape our cultural context and our experience is entirely personal and subjective, how can we really study archaeology in a sense that is meaningful for other archaeologists and the wider public? Some archaeologists have criticised phenomenology on ideological grounds. The Marxist tradition, for example, views phenomenology as an individualistic philosophy that is in some sense a false construct of the capitalist system (Wylie 2007, 181). Phenomenological studies of landscape, thus understood, fail to take proper account of the historical and material conditions of life (Wylie 2007, 180). Phenomenological archaeologies have also tended to reject scientific techniques wholesale, so inheriting the antiscience bias present in phenomenological philosophy. Tilley, for example, has been critical of the use of GIS (Tilley 2005, 204). There is also a tendency implicit in phenomenology to romanticise the past and examine the premodern and non-Western, which leads to an implicit dependence on the Western cultural narrative tradition (Wylie 2007, 183). We should also note in this context the criticism made by Foucault that phenomenology tends to reduce everything down to the human subject (Foucault 1977, 342–343). Yet environmental factors do still play a role, and not every aspect of life is human-centred.

A major issue with phenomenology in archaeology is similar to that found when attempts were made to use phenomenology more broadly in the study of religion; that is the impossibility of recreating past experience of religion (Insoll 2004, 85). As noted above, Renfrew criticises postprocessualist approaches to archaeology on precisely these grounds (Renfrew 1994b, 6). However, phenomenological archaeology, or for that matter postprocessual archaeology as a whole, does not follow Collingwood's idea that history *is* a reenactment of the past (Collingwood 1993, 282). The essential point of Tilley's phenomenological archaeology is lived experience, and so the major advantage of this approach is the pre-eminence it gives to human agency. Nevertheless, this approach is problematic, as there is no escaping the fact that the person whose experience is recorded is the modern archaeologist in the present (Insoll 2004, 86). While this is explicitly recognised, this does limit any attempt to reconstruct past understandings of landscapes. As Insoll (2004, 87) points out, it is difficult enough to do this in a modern anthropological setting when looking at a different cultural landscape, let alone attempting to do it using limited archaeological evidence.

A further point that should be examined is human perception. Given the centrality of personal experience of a site or landscape, human perception is critical to phenomenological method. A belief that human perception is universal is easily challenged; perception is culturally determined, and this can be easily verified using linguistic considerations (Segall, Campbell, and Herskovit 1968). Yet landscape studies, including landscape phenomenological studies, implicitly assume that perception is universal. Tilley's method involves his own detailed descriptions of landscapes and material culture formed through his own direct observation (Tilley 1994, 173–196). Tilley's *The Materiality of Stone* contains detailed descriptions of the surface and conditions of standing stones in France, including a number of photographs to illustrate the surface textures of the stones (Tilley 2004, 33–86). The problem inherent in this approach, as we can now see, is that the perception of the observer is unique and not shared. We can, however, argue that there are clearly elements of human perception that are culturally constructed and span groups if not the human species. I believe it is also possible to attempt to understand differential perception across cultural groups and account for it within the archaeological interpretation. We can, for example, consider the range of possible human perception of a site today and use that as a control on the range of possible experience of a site in the past. The implicit incorrect assumption of universal perception does not destroy the credibility of the phenomenological approach.

If in studying archaeology we are performing a purely subjective interpretation, then no problem arises; our individual perception is just that, *individual*.

Subjective approaches to archaeology make no claim to represent how people in the past interpreted those same sites. “Authorial” intent lies purely with the “reader” and only our experience of the site matters in any meaningful way (Johnson 1999, 106–107). Yet this extreme relativistic position is not universally adopted, and while most archaeologists would argue that it is impossible to escape one’s own cultural context, those same archaeologists would appeal to hermeneutical interpretation as an attempt to at least approach an understanding of the past.

Phenomenological archaeological studies have sometimes taken the form of “archaeologies of the senses.” The character of these studies has been to pick a sense and then explore the “experience” of that sense in some archaeological context. Examples of this include studies of light in Byzantine churches (Jeffreys and Haarer 2006, 241, Nesbitt 2007) and sensory approaches to material culture (See for example MacGregor 1999, 263–264). The problem that such studies face is that if archaeology is purely subjective, then such studies have limited utility; they represent what we see in such churches today, and the past cannot be approached. If, on the other hand, such studies do not claim to be purely subjective, then the perception they are trying to access is not that of the observer, and, unless they take this into account, they are also of limited utility, as they will fail to access the perception of the people they are trying to study. This is not to say that archaeologies of the senses are futile or that that there was no deliberate intention to invoke a sensual response in specific locales or buildings. However, it is important that such archaeological approaches take into account the fact that perception is culturally conditioned. We cannot assume that the people experiencing the sense in question experienced it in the same way as the archaeologist studying it today. The light in the church will be seen differently by a modern observer who lives in a world of electric lighting at the touch of a switch than by the ancient observer familiar with the dim light of oil lamps.

Is it possible to correct this implicit “bias” in the interpretation? A reflexive approach comes to the rescue, demanding that we must deconstruct our own cultural assumptions about universal perception. This is not sufficient, however; deconstruction tells us only how we as modern archaeologists see the world. Rather, we need to access how past peoples experienced their own pasts.

The theoretical basis of my own study, *is* postprocessual. It is centred on the perception of landscape and how that is related to previous experience of landscape. Human agency, therefore, is paramount in this approach. I am happy to use a phenomenological approach within this work, subject to the extra checks and balances I have proposed above, namely a rejection of outright subjectivity and consideration of the impact of differing perception among observers.

For landscape studies memory is of key importance, and the study of the colonia is no different. For example, the Roman Temple of Jupiter at Baalbek is built using the podium of an earlier Temple dated to the late first century BCE, and it too is on the site of earlier Bronze Age occupation (Ragette 1980, 16, Kropp and Lohmann 2011, 38–50).[18] The Temples of Baalbek contain elements of social memory built into their structure, but this is not all; the location of Baalbek on the watershed of the Litany and Al-ʾAsi Rivers is clearly important. Collective memory is one of the archaeological paradigms I will use as a tool for analysis of sites in this work, and hence it is important to assess the strengths and weaknesses of the approach here.

Simon Schama defines landscape as "the work of the mind, its scenery is built up as much from strata of memory as from layers of rock" (Schama 1995, 7). As noted previously landscape contains within it a nostalgic notion. Memory is fundamental to how we perceive landscape; I suggest that memory comes "within" the physical landscape, constructing a sociocultural landscape within a physical one. This is unlike the "progressive superposition" or "palimpsest," where an archaeologist must be able to see the transformation of the layers the various layers of a terrain used at different points in time (Schama 1995, 7). The linkage of landscape to memory can be seen through the commemoration acts embedded in the proliferation of tombs and funerary monuments since antiquity. Monumentality is not an essential feature of memory in the landscape; performance can embody memory. Feldman Wiess (2008) suggests that the regular ritual procession of Artemis at Ephesus, as outlined in the civic dedication by C. Vibius Salutaris in 104 CE, created memory and meaning within the urban landscape. Memory is important, but what we choose to forget is often even more revealing; this is not the forgetting of amnesia but the deliberate remembering to forget of a society keen to break with elements of its past.

Studies of "social memory" draw on a stream of ideas deriving ultimately from Halbwachs's *On Collective Memory* (1992) but are also inspired by Marcel Proust's novel *À la recherche du temps perdu* (1992). According to Halbwachs, collective or social memory is shared and constructed by the social group. Proust's novel is important for the notion of involuntary memory, that is, the recollection of past events on an involuntary basis, with small actions in daily life providing the cues (Misztal 2003, 111). Proust, like Bergson, saw time as a series of discrete moments with memory preserving the past. Memory in this sense transcends time's arrow. Time is no longer a purely linear

18 The "Hellenistic" Temple podium will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

sequence of events; rather, memories from the past are constantly recalled, creating a much more complex mental mixture containing the "present" and "past."

*How Societies Remember* by Paul Connerton (1990) is a key work in the development of memory studies, providing a concise introduction to the subject. Social memory, as Connerton describes it, includes narratives but also includes habitual elements such as gestures, style, and rituals (Connerton 1990, 41). He mentions the "habit memory," which he describes as "bodily automaticisms" and ritual performance. Commemorative ceremonies embody collective memory within them and recall it in a way similar to Proust's involuntary memory but both in the personal and collective sense. Of course such commemorative ceremonies are themselves rituals.

Archaeologists have readily drawn on notions of "social memory." One of the major contributors to the development of studies of "the past in the past" has been Richard Bradley, through his books *An Archaeology of Natural Places* (2000) and *The Past in Prehistoric Societies* (2002). Bradley provides a new approach to the landscape, starting from looking at the places themselves. His argument is simple: "Natural places have a sacred character which transcends time and culture"; these places have a deep meaning for the local population, and materials left on these sites are an indication that past people made a clear distinction between the natural and cultural. These places embody the collective memory of the group. Bradley divides memory into two elements; one is visible enacted through monuments and compelling memorials and a second form of memory is hidden, deposited in natural places. The key observation from Bradley is that while there is a clear separation of natural and cultural, memory can be cached in both constructed and natural landscape.

For Bradley, memory can be cached in monuments, votives, and rock art. Where text is available, memory is literally inscribed on walls and tablets for example. Van Dyke and Alcock (2003) point to a tablet that describes how the king of Babylon, Nabonidus, sought to use labourers to excavate earlier sites and restore the works of a predecessor (See Schnapp 1997, 13–16 for the translated tablet in full).

As Connerton suggests, memory is not only lodged in the physical but also in ritual and performance. Van Dyke and Alcock point to the importance of ritual in social memory in the introduction to *Archaeologies of Memory* (2003, 4). The two editors point to the importance of ritual procession now thought to be important at prehistoric cursus monuments. Van Dyke and Alcock also raise the important practice of ancestor worship in the context of memory studies, as well as the more familiar activities of feasting and ritual deposition (2003, 4). Mieke Prent, in the same volume, explores the continued use of Bronze Age

monuments as cult sites well into the Hellenistic period on Crete (2003, 81–103). In one example Prent explores the presence of later cult activity at a Bronze Age site at Amnisos. Here a substantial Minoan ashlar wall attracted a variety of artefacts that can be associated with ritual activity in the period from the late ninth to the seventh century (Prent 2003, 83–84). Ritual activity continued through the classical period, when a cult building was erected, and into the Roman period. There is evidence for ritual activity or procession in Heliopolis, as will be discussed in Chapter 9.

Finally, we should not conclude that memory is perfect and immutable. Social memory is constructed and continually reconstructed, formed of what is remembered and what is forgotten. This forgetting can be accidental, but it can also be a deliberate attempt to forget, as Forty and Küchler make clear in *The Art of Forgetting* (1999). Hella Eckardt suggests several examples of deliberate forgetting in her paper "Remembering and Forgetting in the Roman Provinces" (2004). Eckardt points to the practice of *Damnatio Memoriae*, where the name of an unpopular emperor was removed from monuments (2004, 39). A more subtle example suggested by Eckardt is the deliberate forgetting of the preconquest past in the Northwestern provinces of the Roman Empire (2004, 41–42). This is more difficult to demonstrate, and Eckardt points to numerous examples of interaction with the past in the Roman period. Nevertheless there are some clear examples where Roman roads ignore prehistoric monuments completely, such as at Ackling Dyke (Eckardt 2004, 42–43). Greg Woolf (1996, 361) identifies the same phenomena through his work on Roman Gaul, where the memory of the pre-Roman past was not preserved, as is clear the lack of Roman era references to the pre-Roman past through coins, festivals, or histories.

Social memory approaches are particularly useful in the context of reuse of sites and material culture. Hence I will apply them to the study of the colonial territory. For the colonial territory in the Bekaa, the evidence for reuse of sites is very limited, although the locations of some Temple sites closely reference their local topography or other landscape features, giving rise to the suggestion that memory may have played a role in the placement of such sacred sites, and this will be one consideration in my analysis of Temple sites in the Bekaa valley.

### 2.3.6 *Landscape in Greco-Roman Thought*

We must ask how well the concept of landscape translates into other languages. Greek, Latin, and Aramaic were the main languages used in the region during the Roman period up to the Islamic conquest. In this section I explore how the concept of landscape is "translated" into Greek and Latin. It has not been possible to assess the concept of landscape in Aramaic.

Is there any correspondence of a concept of landscape in Greek and Latin? The answer would appear to be yes.

Consider first the idea of landscape as a view in a Greco-Roman setting. A modern Latin dictionary helpfully provides a translation of landscape as *agrorum prospectus* (Kidd 1997, 97), literally meaning "view of land," but whether this was ever used in the same manner as the English landscape is not clear. Nevertheless, we can find instances where the verb *prōspĭcĭo* is used when describing a view of the land from an aesthetic perspective. This is very clear in the following passage from Pliny's letter to Domitius Apollinaris, quoted in Latin and English:

> Magnam capies voluptatem, si hunc regionis situm ex monte prospexeris. Neque enim terras tibi sed formam aliquam ad eximiam pulchritudinem pictam videberis cernere: ea varietate, ea descriptione, quocumque inciderint oculi, reficientur.
>
> PLINY V.6.13

> It is a great pleasure to look down on the countryside from the mountain, for the view seems to be a painted scene of unusual beauty rather than a real landscape, and the harmony to be found in this variety refreshes the eye wherever it turns.
>
> PLINY 1969 V.6.13: translation BETTY RADICE

The translator has used the phrase "as a landscape" to render the Latin, *terras*. Pliny is describing the view of the countryside surrounding his house but here the view is seen as of 'unusual beauty' in contrast to normal landscapes.

Perhaps more significant than the idea of landscape in literature in a Roman context are Roman attitudes and responses to geography and the physical landscape. Understanding these attitudes is central to analysis of the relationship between the natural and constructed landscape. While, as Nicolas Purcell (1990, 8) notes, we should take great care to avoid ascribing modern notions of conquest as acquisition and maintenance of territory to the Romans. Rather, Roman conquest had much more to do with conquering peoples rather than territory. Nevertheless, the Romans clearly did have a notion of space that was linked to conquest. As Purcell suggests (1990, 9–14), the defining element of the Roman spatial perspective was, from the middle Republic onward, tied very closely to Roman roads. This is a rather counter-intuitive perspective for the modern scholar, who has lived in a world of international borders. The natural focus would be the Roman frontiers like Hadrian's Wall; however, these were only of secondary importance in defining the Roman world. Roman roads

radiate from Rome itself (Purcell 1990, 12), projecting Roman power from a distance. The geometry of the Roman Empire is created through the road network; land is measured by distances on itineraries such as the *Antonine Itinerary* (McWhirr 1987, 661).

The Roman attitude toward the landscape is clearly one of domination but in the sense of an enemy defeated or subdued rather than ownership of land. As Purcell (1990, 16) suggests, one way this conquest of terrain is revealed is through centuriation. The division of the land and the imposition of Roman measures on the landscape alongside the associated infrastructure of settlement is a massive demonstration of Roman power over the environment. Of course not all conquered territory was centuriated, so this demonstration of power was selective.

Another piece of evidence for the idea of landscape comes not from visual art but from poetry. The Greek writer Theocritus, who was born in either Kos or Syracuse and who lived and worked in Alexandria and Sicily in the third century BCE, is known for his "bucolic" works. These poems were all set in pastoral landscape. The first idyll, *Thyrsis*, begins:

> THYRSIS
> Something sweet is the whisper of the pine that makes her music by yonder springs, and sweet no less, master Goatherd, the melody of your pipe. Pan only shall take place and prize afore you; and if they give him a horny he-goat, then a she shall be yours; and if a she be for him, why, you shall have her kid; and kid's meat's good eating till your kids be milch-goats.
>
> GOATHERD
> As sweetly, good Shepherd, falls your music as the resounding water that gushes down from the top o' yonder rock. If the Muses get the ewe-lamb to their meed, you shall carry off the cosset, the ewe-lamb come to you.
>
> THEOCRITUS, *Thyrsis*, translated by J.M. EDMONDS

Virgil based his own *Bucolics* and *Eclogues* on those of Theocritus (Martindale 1997, 107). The fourth eclogue contains the following passage:

> The soil will need no harrowing, the vine no pruning knife;
> And the tough ploughman may at last unyoke his oxen.
> We shall stop treating wool with artificial dyes,
> For the ram himself in his pasture will change his fleece's colour,
> Now to a charming purple, now to a saffron hue.
>
> VIRGIL, *Eclogues* IV.40–44, translated by C. DAY-LEWIS

It is clear then that there was a stream of what we call "landscape awareness" in Greek and Roman art and literature. However, we should exercise caution in this attribution. While there was a forerunner to the idea of landscape present in Greek and Roman thought, this is not fully developed. We cannot straightforwardly apply the label "landscape" in these contexts. The message that should be taken from this in the context of this work is that we need to clearly separate our understanding of the landscape as an abstract concept from that of contemporary people. So here the "landscape of the Bekaa" is something that we, as archaeologists, can use. However, when examining the placement of Temples "in the landscape" or the relationship between natural and constructed spaces or between "sacred space" and "nonsacred space," we need to be aware that the indigenous people or Romans or others would not have understood "landscape" in the same way as we do.

### 2.3.7 *Sacred Landscapes*

How should we approach the archaeology of sacred landscapes? Smith and Brookes (2001, 5) identify two key issues, the identification of sacred space and the importance of boundaries. Just as with the broader archaeology of religion, we must again ask, what do we mean by "sacred" landscapes? As discussed earlier, the classical definition of "sacred" is constructed through its opposition to the nonsacred, or secular, space. Yet, this division between sacred and secular is difficult to maintain in many cultural contexts. The same building can host sacred as well as secular functions. The recognition of sacred space in the Bekaa valley would seem straightforward; for example, the precinct of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus is a well-defined space. However, there are clearly nonsacred elements nearby in the city of Heliopolis. Indeed, the semicircular area immediately outside the propylon of the Temple of Jupiter may have been used in a similar fashion to a Roman forum for activities such as commerce. Buildings outside the immediate Temple complex may have had sacred roles; a building at Bustan el'Khan, next to the Temple complex, was interpreted by Margarete van Ess as being a "cult" hall associated with the Temple of Mercury. The identification of sacred space is far from straightforward, therefore.

Boundaries are particularly important in sacred contexts (Smith and Brookes 2001, 5). They define space and create order in the landscape. Boundaries also control access to sacred spaces. Smith and Brookes (2001, 6) note the importance of successive boundaries on approach to a ritual focus. This is obviously the case in the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus at Baalbek in the pantheistic period. On entering the Temple, one is met with a series of boundary points, beginning with the semicircular open area in front of the propy-

lon. Crossing through the propylon brings the observed to the large hexagonal courtyard built by Philip the Arab and then through another gateway into the main forecourt of the Temple itself. Here the final boundary, closed to all but the priests, could be found just beyond the steps to the enormous Temple itself. Boundaries can be seen as liminal zones, dangerous in their ambiguity (Smith and Brookes, 6). Boundaries, where they can be identified, are, therefore, an important element of sacred spaces and landscapes.

The first difficulty with sacred landscapes is their identification and classification. However, the next issue is how to approach a study of their archaeology. As noted earlier, phenomenology has become central to landscape archaeology and in particular to the relationship between religion and landscape. Tilley's own work has focused on sacred landscapes, with each of the three case studies presented in *A Phenomenology of Landscape* being taken from Mesolithic and Neolithic monumental landscapes in Great Britain. Many other studies of sacred landscapes have adopted the same paradigm.

Insoll suggests that rather than adopt a phenomenological approach, a better alternative might be to use the "holistic" scheme of Richard Bradley as expounded in his *An Archaeology of Natural Places* (2000). In fact, this book argues for a modified use of the phenomenological approach to sacred landscapes, one that notes its deficiencies, such as its assumptions about perception, and attempts to correct for them and one that is reflexive in its application. Phenomenology is clearly not the panacea it is sometimes made out to be, and its theoretical basis in the philosophy of Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty can sometimes obscure the clear relationship it has with other postprocessual archaeologies. However, it does offer insights that other approaches to archaeology do not provide, and it is for this reason that it is useful in this context.

### 2.3.8 *Geographic Information Systems*

Visibility studies have been present in archaeology for an extended period and certainly predate the introduction of GIS (Lake and Woodman 2003, 689). Both non-GIS and GIS-based studies have adopted a number of different approaches, which can be broadly characterised as informal, statistical, and humanistic (Lake and Woodman 2003, 690–695). While the informal studies have lacked methodological rigor, the statistic studies have aimed at quantification of visibility using statistical approaches and tests (Lake and Woodman 2003, 690, 693). Statistical approaches have sometimes adopted a cognitive-processual stance that links visibility to past cognition. GIS studies of this type in particular have come in for sustained criticism because of their positivist approach and because the landscape is viewed in ways that past people would

not have used (Thomas 1993, 25). No more needs to be said of the seminal *A Phenomenology of Landscape* (Tilley 1994) and non-GIS humanistic studies of landscape; however, humanistic studies of landscape using GIS have been completed despite the tensions between GIS and postprocessual archaeology (Witcher 1999, 13). Humanistic GIS studies rely heavily on the concept of perception, but two different definitions are used: perception as reception of information and perception as mental insight (Witcher 1999, 18). In the former case, GIS is used as a proxy for "being there" in the past, while in the latter case, GIS is extended into the abstract space of human mental processes. Whatever approach is adopted, it is critical to adopt a reflexive approach, as, even allowing for the very different experience of visualisation inside a GIS, past peoples may not have shared the modern bias toward visual understanding of landscape (Witcher 1999, 19).

Here the approach to GIS is a humanistic, postprocessual one. One motivation for the use of GIS is the lack of direct access to the Bekaa valley for landscape archaeology on security grounds. Hence I use visibility and intervisibility GIS tools as a proxy for human experience of the landscape. However, viewsheds provide a different and wider perspective on the landscape than is given by direct human experience.

In Chapter 11 visibility studies are used to establish the relationship between the monument in question and the landscape that surrounds it, emphasising the natural terrain and the features within it. Comparisons between the viewsheds of different Temples also allow a broader comparison of both the relative status and the relationship between monuments. Visibility is also used to remotely explore the impact of moving through the landscape and viewing the monument from a distance, including the visual experience of approaching the monument. Intervisibility between Temples is used to establish and understand relationships between these monuments.

The viewshed analysis has been conducted using ArcGIS. For each Temple the viewshed was calculated from a point in the location of the Temple at the approximate height of the Temple. The key source of error in this analysis is the lack of knowledge about the vegetation in the Bekaa valley in the Roman period. The valley floor itself was given over to agriculture, but it is certain that some areas of Mount Lebanon would have been forested. The impact of vegetation on the viewsheds is discussed in the context of each case.

### 2.3.9 *Statistical Analysis (of Inscriptions)*

In Chapter 10 I review a series of inscriptions recovered from Baalbek-Heliopolis and the Bekaa, the majority of which were compiled by Rey-Coquais

(1967). Part of my analysis involves examining the distribution of inscriptions according to different categorisation and the presentation of these distributions as pie charts. This is very basic statistical analysis and does not require detailed methodological explanation. However, there are two issues that need to be noted: the small sample size and the choice of categories. The total number of inscriptions is just over 300, of which only small numbers present detailed information that can be studied. Hence the analysis uses small sample sizes throughout, and the potential for error needs to be considered when conclusions are drawn. Secondly, the division of the inscriptions into different categories can present issues. Division between find locations is uncontroversial, but division of samples using categories that require interpretation, such as social class, requires more careful consideration. Where such categories are used, these are discussed in detail in the relevant section of the text. The inscriptions can be used spatially to some extent, particularly in the context of understanding the wider links from the colonia to the wider Roman world. The vast majority of inscriptions from the Bekaa valley were recovered from Baalbek itself, so the remaining inscriptions form a relatively small sample. No attempt has been made, therefore, to assess the distribution of inscriptions in the landscape of the Bekaa valley.

## 2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a description of the major sources and historiography for the book as a whole. A description of the archaeological methodology that will be applied in later chapters has also been provided. The remaining chapters of this work now discuss the development of the colonia, beginning with the pre-Hellenistic and Hellenistic period.

CHAPTER 3

# From Hellenistic Kingdoms to Roman Authority in the Levant

## 3.1 Introduction

The historical context for the foundation of the colonia in 15 BCE is provided by the Hellenistic kingdoms, the gradual collapse of Seleucid authority, and the later direct intervention of the Romans with Pompey's invasion in 64–63 BCE. This chapter explores this historical background, with emphasis on the Ituraeans, the dominant regional group in the territory that would later become the colonia. The Ituraeans became a Roman client kingdom, with the tetrarch, Ptolemy, son of Menneus, left in place by Pompey.[1] The later period, after the foundation of the colonia until the death of Agrippa II, provides insight into Roman policy in the Levant prior to the consolidation of territories into the province of Roman Syria. The chapter also provides discussion on the boundaries of the colonial territory in the Bekaa valley and in the environs of Berytus itself.

## 3.2 The Hellenistic Kingdoms in the Levant

When Alexander the Great died in 323 BCE, his empire fell into division among his various would-be successors. By 270 BCE three stable successor kingdoms had formed: the Antigonid Empire in Greece, the Seleucid Empire in Mesopotamia, and Persia and the Ptolemaic Empire in Egypt, Palestine, and Cyprus. The decisive battle in the aftermath of the death of Alexander took place at Ipsus in Phyrigia in 301 BCE. At Ipsus Ptolemy and Seleucus I defeated Antigonus I, one of Alexander's generals. Ptolemy arrived late for the battle, and Seleucus's participation led him to claim Syria and Phoenicia for himself and to

1 The term "client kingdom" must be used with caution, as this is a term adopted by modern scholars to describe "kings, allies and friends of the Roman people" (Kaizer and Facella 2010a, 16). There was no fixed definition of what constituted client kingship and no juridical basis for it (Kropp 2013, 12). Indeed Kaizer and Facella (2010a, 20) suggest that *amicitia* is a more appropriate term than *clientela* in this context. For a full discussion on the nature of client kingship in the Near East, see Kaizer and Facella (2010b) and Kropp (2013).

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occupy northern Syria. This caused a bitter confrontation between the Ptolemies and Seleucids, leading to the six Syrian wars between the two empires in the period from 274 BCE to 168 BCE.

The northern boundary of the kingdom established by Ptolemy lay north of modern Tripoli in Lebanon. The Bekaa valley, known as Coele-Syria in contemporary texts, lay on the border between the Seleucid and Ptolemaic kingdoms and, with its rich agricultural land, was presumably an object of desire for both. The exact position of the border is unknown, but the vital role played by Arados, the island city just off the coast of northern Syria, suggests to Grainger (1991, 52) that it lay close to it. The position of the frontier inland is also unclear. The two main Ptolemaic fortifications were along an east–west line crossing the southern part of the Bekaa valley at Gerrha and Brochi and sited on either side of a lake (Polybius V.46). Gerrha has sometimes been identified as a predecessor of Chalcis, although this remains disputed (Jones 1937, 254, Will 1983). Chalcis and Gerrha have both been identified as being located at modern Anjar in Lebanon, although the archaeological remains present there today relate to a palace of Caliph Walid I from the eighth century. No lake is found in the vicinity of Anjar today, and the second fortification at Brochi is completely lost. Grainger (1991, 58) suggests that the northern Bekaa valley was also under Ptolemaic control at this time, although largely unpopulated and unfortified. Settlement patterns in the Hellenistic Bekaa valley will, however, form a major point of discussion later in this book.

The Ituraeans, who became the dominant group in late Hellenistic Phoenicia, were referenced by sources referring to this earlier period. Alexander the Great was said by Plutarch to have campaigned against the Ituraeans as far as the Anti-Lebanon Mountains (Plutarch, XXIV.10–14). The Roman historian Curtius, himself a major source for Plutarch, noted that the Ituraeans were raiding or living on Mount Lebanon (Curtius, IV.2.24). Some care should be exercised in the formal identification of this group with the Ituraeans, as Curtius was writing under Claudius or Vespasian in the mid-first century, while Plutarch was writing his *Lives* at the beginning of the second century. Nevertheless the military historian Grainger (1991, 19) believes this indicates that the group encountered by Alexander was a group of Arab peoples moving into the Bekaa around the mid-fourth century BCE and that these were the ancestors of the Ituraeans. However, it is clear that there were in fact a large number of different Arab groups in the region in at the time of Pompey's invasion. Shahid (1984, 3–5) identifies nine separate groups of Arabs in the region, including the Ituraeans and the Nabateans, the latter of whom were in control of Damascus at this time.

Antiochus III, known as Antiochus Magnus, was the sixth ruler of the Seleucid Empire and younger son of Seleucus II Callinicus. He expanded the Seleucid Kingdom considerably through conquest and brought the Seleucids into direct confrontation with the Roman Empire as a result (Gruen 1984, 635–643). Antiochus showed ambitions to take control of Phoenicia and Coele-Syria early in his reign. In 221 BCE, following internal instability, Antiochus launched an attack on Coele-Syria on the advice of Hermeias, the chief minister of his brother and predecessor, Seleucus III (Polybius V.42.3–9). Antiochus's attack proceeded down the Bekaa valley, eventually confronting the Ptolemaic forces at Gerrha and Brochi. Ptolemy's army proved unmovable, and in the face of territorial gain by the rebel Molos in the eastern Seleucid kingdom, Antiochus turned back (Polybius V.46.5).

In 217 BCE Antiochus again turned his attention toward Coele-Syria and Palestine. Theodotus of Aitolia, the Ptolemaic commander of Palestine, switched allegiance to Antiochus (Polybius V.60.2–3, V.61.3). Theodotus and his allies were left besieged in Ptolemais-Ake and Tyre and sought relief from Antiochus (Polybius V.61.5–8). Antiochus marched his army south, once more through the Bekaa, to be confronted by the Ptolemaic garrisons at Gerrha and Brochi. This time, however, Antiochus bypassed the fortifications, taking a small force across the mountains toward Berytus and leaving Brochi under siege (Polybius V.61.8–62.1). Later, with the support of his full army, Antiochus relieved Tyre and Ptolemais-Ake capturing forty warships (Polybius V.62.1–3). Antiochus then proceeded to campaign systematically through coastal Phoenicia and then into Palestine. He had, however, failed to capture either the southern Bekaa valley or Damascus at the rear of his army. When his army was defeated at Raphia, Antiochus was left with no route to retreat through and immediately lost his conquests in the subsequent peace agreement (Polybius V.87.1, V.87.4–9).

Antiochus turned his attention elsewhere and was active militarily in Asia Minor and the Upper Satrapies until the death of Ptolemy IV in around 203 BCE left a five-year-old king on the throne of Egypt (Gruen 1984, 614). A private agreement with Philip V Macedon allowed Antiochus the freedom to launch the fifth Syrian war in 202 BCE (Gruen 1984, 614). The details of the campaign have been lost; however, Grainger suggests that Antiochus did not attack through the Bekaa valley on this occasion, preferring to march east of the Anti-Lebanon Mountains and attack Damascus (Grainger 1991, 100, Polyaenus IV.15). Antiochus captured Sidon in 200/199 BCE and completed the subjugation of Coele-Syria in 198 BCE with the decisive battle of Panium in 198 BCE near the sources of the Jordan, marking the end of Ptolemaic rule in Judea. With the conclusion of the conflict, Antiochus married his daughter to Ptolemy V. According

to Josephus the dowry consisted of "Coele-Syria, and Samaria, and Judea, and Phoenicia" (Josephus XII.154–155); however, this is likely to have meant only the tax revenues rather than control of the territory (Josephus XII.155, Grainger 1991, 104).

With the defeat of Ptolemaic forces in the Phoenicia and Judea, Antiochus III began an assault on Ptolemaic holdings on the coast of Asia Minor (Gruen 1984, 617). The Seleucids pressed onward across Asia Minor until, in 192 BCE, Antiochus crossed into Greece with a small force, aiming at a demonstration of power and portraying himself as a saviour of the Greeks (Gruen 1984, 632). This action raised tensions with the Roman Senate and eventually led to a declaration of war by Rome in 191 BCE (Gruen 1984, 635). Antiochus had some early success and captured Chalcis[2] in Greece in 191 BCE (Livy XXXVI.5). The situation then turned rapidly against Antiochus, with defeat at Thermopylae in 191 BCE and a forced withdrawal to Ephesus (Gruen 1984, 635). Antiochus's navy was heavily defeated by the combined forces of Rome and Pergamum at Myanessus in the summer or autumn of 191 BCE (Gruen 1984, 637). After failing to agree on terms with Rome, Antiochus was forced to face the Scipio brothers in battle at Magnesia, where his forces were defeated and Antiochus retreated to Apamea (Livy, XXXVII.37–44). The subsequent Treaty of Apamea with the Romans was a turning point in the Seleucid Empire, as it restricted Antiochus III from interference in western Asia Minor (Appian VII.39). The treaty consisted of a series of conditions that the Romans imposed on the Seleucids, including a requirement that Antiochus should provide over twenty hostages between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, including Antiochus III's own son, Antiochus IV (Polybius XXI.43). The Seleucid kingdom was also forced to pay heavy war reparations, reduce their navy to only twelve ships, and withdraw beyond the Taurus Mountains. It is clear, however, that Antiochus could maintain his hold on Phoenicia and Coele-Syria, although we have very little evidence of any activity there beyond the capture of the region in 202 BCE and the "dowry" payment of 194 BCE.

Antiochus III died in 187 BCE after trying to confiscate the Temple treasury at Elymais (Appian VIII.45). His son, Seleucus IV, succeeded him and ruled the Seleucid Empire until he was murdered in 175 BCE by his spokesman, Heliodorus. Gruen (1984, 649) suggests that Ptolemy V intended to recapture Coele-Syria in the 180s BCE, but his plans came to nothing. Antiochus IV Epiphanes, the younger brother of Seleucus IV, was released as a hostage by

2 Note that there are two cities named Chalcis, which can lead to some confusion, one in Greece and one in the Bekaa.

Rome around ten years after the Treaty of Apamea. Following the death of his brother Seleucus IV, Antiochus IV rapidly gained control of the Seleucid kingdom. He avenged his brother's murder and took the throne himself ahead of his nephew and legitimate heir to the throne, Demetrius I, who was by then a hostage in Rome (Appian VIII.45). One of Antiochus's first actions was to renew ties with Rome and to pay an installment of war reparations, which had presumably fallen behind under Seleucus IV (Livy XLII.6). Gruen (1984, 648) postulates that the motivation for this may have been the threat to Coele-Syria. Irrespective of external threats to Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, there were certainly internal difficulties. Josephus (Ant., XII. 234–246) reports that a certain Hyrcanus set himself up as king in a region "beyond the Jordan" and centred on Tyre in the period of Seleucid IV's rule. Hyrcanus is later said to have committed suicide when faced with the army of Antiochus IV. Antiochus IV personally undertook trips to Tyre, Joppa, and Jerusalem around this time.

In 169 BCE Antiochus's army entered Egypt ostensibly to support Ptolemy Philopater's claim to the throne of Egypt against the candidates supported by Alexandria, Euergetes and Cleopatra. Antiochus's army travelled by way of Coele-Syria and, as will be discussed in more detail later, there is some suggestion that fortifications were constructed at Baalbek-Heliopolis in this period. Antiochus laid siege to Alexandria but returned to Syria in the same year (Gruen 1984, 653). Ptolemy was later reconciled with the Alexandrian candidates, and so Antiochus dropped any pretence of supporting candidates for the Ptolemaic throne and launched attacks on Cyprus and upper Egypt in 168 BCE (Gruen 1984, 654). Roman intervention on behalf of the Ptolemaic kingdom deprived him of his territorial gains, however. Before reaching Alexandria, Antiochus found his path blocked by Roman envoy Gaius Popilius Laenas. Popilius famously drew a circle in the sand around Antiochus and asked him to leave Egypt and Cyprus, implying that Rome would wage war if he stepped out of the circle without promising to leave these territories first (Livy XLV.12). Rome also had Demetrius as a hostage, so it was in Antiochus's interests to withdraw. Unlike the Treaty of Apamea, this "day of Eleusis" did not leave the Seleucids impotent. In particular Rome did not interfere in internal Seleucid affairs and was unconcerned with the Maccabean revolt in Judea in 167–166 BCE.

While the Maccabean revolt is not directly relevant to Berytus, Baalbek, or the Bekaa valley, it is worth briefly considering what implications the revolt has for the study of religious practice in the Seleucid kingdom. According to Josephus, Antiochus made deliberate attempts to "Hellenise" the Jews after assuming the Seleucid throne in 175 BCE (Josephus XII.237–241). Anti-

ochus dismissed then the high priest of the Temple, Jason, a Hellenised Jew appointed by his father, and replaced him with Menelaus (Josephus XII.239). Antiochus further upset the Jewish population by promoting Greek ideas and ways of living, including the construction of a Greek gymnasium in Jerusalem (Josephus XII.241). The Jewish response to this process was mixed, with some Jews following Menelaus and Greek ways, while others followed the former high priest Jason and maintained traditional practices. The Samaritans in contrast seem to have embraced Hellenism, distancing themselves from the Jews and asking Apollonius, Antiochus's governor of the Levant region, for permission to dedicate their new Temple at Mount Gerrazim, close to the modern city of Nablus in the West Bank, to Zeus Hellenius (Josephus XII.257–264). There is no evidence linking this process to developments at Berytus or in the Bekaa.

Josephus records that after Antiochus's attack on Egypt, his forces entered Jerusalem and plundered the Temple (Josephus XII.248–256). Antiochus then proceeded to ban circumcision and erect a pagan statue in the Temple (Josephus XII.253). He garrisoned a new Seleucid fortress in Jerusalem that overlooked the Temple with Macedonian forces (Josephus XII.252). Ultimately these draconian actions led to the Maccabean revolt under Mathias and then later under Judas Maccabeus from 167 to 164 BCE. After the death of Antiochus, the Jews were granted a degree of autonomy, which lasted until the Roman conquest under Pompey in 63 BCE.

After the death of Antiochus IV in 164 BCE, the Seleucid kingdom began a rapid decline under Antiochus V and then under the rule of the escaped Roman hostage Demetrius (Gruen 1984, 665–666). In 150 BCE Demetrius was removed by the other Hellenistic kingdoms and replaced by Alexander Balas, who had the support of Pergamum, Egypt, and Capadocia. Balas was in turn replaced by Demetrius, son of Demetrius I, with the support of Ptolemy VI. The death of Ptolemy the VI in 145 BCE and the removal of his support to the Seleucid monarchy led to civil war in Syria (Kropp 2013, Gruen 1984, 668). A succession of weak and short-lived Seleucid monarchs followed.

## 3.3 The Ituraeans and the Ituraean Principality

As the major inhabitants of the Bekaa valley prior to the arrival of Rome and the dominant group in the area of modern Lebanon, the Ituraeans are of central importance to this work. Understanding their importance and their relationship to Baalbek is crucial to understanding the region in the Hellenistic period. Their development also falls appropriately into the historical context of the

decline of the Seleucid kingdom. Two key questions present themselves: who were the Ituraeans, and what was the extent and significance of the Ituraean principality?

A.H. Jones made a major contribution to the study of the Ituraean principality and its demise in his 1931 *JRS* paper "The Urbanization of the Ituraean Principality." Shimon Dar considers the subject in his archaeological report on his excavations of Ituraean sites on Mount Hermon, *Settlements and Cult Sites on Mount Hermon, Israel: Ituraean Culture in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (1993). The broader context of Arab engagement with Rome was explored by Shahid (1984). The recent monograph by E.A. Myers, *The Ituraeans and the Roman Near East* (2010), has provided a detailed review of the historical sources. Kropp (2013) has reviewed the coin iconography and monuments associated with the Luraean dynasty alongside those of other Near Eastern client kings in his *Images & Monuments of Near Eastern Dynasts, 100 BC–AD 100*. Finally, a full review of the Ituraeans in Lebanon throughout the period covered by this work has been conducted by Aliquot (1999–2003) in *Les Ituréens et la présence arabe au Liban du IIe siècle a.C. au IVth siècle p.C.*

### 3.3.1 *Who Were the Ituraeans?*

Perhaps the most prevalent idea in modern scholarship is that the Ituraeans were a nomadic group that originated in Northern Arabia before moving and settling in the Bekaa valley sometime prior to the establishment of the Ituraean principality. As noted earlier, Alexander the Great is said by Plutarch to have campaigned against "Arabs" in the Anti-Lebanon Mountains (Plutarch, XXIV.10–14). Authors such as Grainger have identified this group with the Ituraeans, suggesting that they were entering the region around the second half of the fourth century BCE (Grainger 1991, 19). Aliquot (1999–2003, 171) notes that an archaeological surface survey of the northern Bekaa concluded that human occupation during the Achaemenid period was weak and was therefore consistent with the presence of nomads; however, this result has not been confirmed for the whole of Lebanon. Furthermore, Aliquot (1999–2003, 171) argues that the use of the term "Arab" may have been an anachronism by writers who were trying to draw a parallel between Pompey's campaigns and the earlier ones of Alexander.

The first extant direct reference to the Ituraeans can be found in Strabo:

> Now all the mountainous parts are held by Ituraeans and Arabians, all of whom are robbers, but the people in the plains are farmers; and when the latter are harassed by the robbers at different times they require different kinds of help. These robbers use strongholds as bases of operation; those,

> for example, who hold Libanus possess, high up on the mountain, Sinna and Borrama and other fortresses like them, and, down below, Botrys and Gigartus and the caves by the sea and the castle that was erected on Theuprosopon.
>
> STRABO, XVI.2.18

This passage places the Ituraeans in the mountainous regions of modern Lebanon, although the description of them as "robbers" does little to indicate the importance of the group in the late Hellenistic Levant. While ancient authors Strabo, Eutropius, Orosius, and Cassius Dio identify the Ituraeans as "Arabs," Pliny the Elder, Appian, and Vibius describe them as Syrians, and Josephus does not mention an ethnicity at all (Kropp 2013, 26–27). For the authors who link the Ituraeans with "Arabs," there is no certainty that this references an Arabian origin. Rather, it may refer to the way of life of the Ituraeans, that is, one that is not settled and involves nomadic pastoralism, perhaps supplemented by brigandage (Kropp 2013, 21–22, Aliquot 1999–2003, 182). As Kropp (2013, 22) points out, in the modern world, "Arab" in primarily a linguistic designation.

Some support for an Arab origin for the Ituraeans may be provided by Safaitic graffiti found in southern Hauran and north of the Arabian Desert (Ghadban 1971, Milik 1985, Macdonald 1993). These examples seem to bear the same names common in Nabatean and Safaitic (Naveh 1975, 120–121). New discoveries of Greek, Latin, and Nabatean and Safaitic inscriptions were made by the great Princeton expedition, whose members conducted a survey in southern Syria (Said 2006). Among hundreds of Greek funerary inscriptions, two bear the name of YTWR, with the patronym and age of the deceased. This led the author to believe that the Ituraeans moved to Hauran out of southern Syria and settled there. However, there is no direct evidence of a link between these Safaitic inscriptions and the Ituraeans (Aliquot 1999–2003, 179, Kropp 2013, 26–27 n. 152).

The coins issued by the Ituraean tetrarchs include images of Athena (Kropp 2013, 235). As noted by Aliquot (1999–2003, 186) and Kropp (2013, 235) these recall the Hellenised form of the Arabian warrior goddess, Allāt. The worship of Allāt and identification with Athena are found at Palmyra, in the Hauran and Nabatea (Kropp 2013, 235), and hence the coins provide a possible link to Arab deities. The presence of the Dioskouroi in Ituraean coins may also be linked to Arab twin gods (Kropp 2013, 236), with their depiction in cuirass being unusual but reflecting an updating of style to use images associated with Hellenistic royalty. This may be, Kropp (2013, 236) suggests, a dynastic Ituraean image.

A further link may be provided by the form of the "mausoleum" at Hermel (Will 1949). This tower tomb with a pyramidal top is a large example of a type

of tomb found in a number of locations in Lebanon and in Homs, where one was constructed as a mausoleum for Samsigeramus in 78/79 CE (Kropp 2013, 208–216, Aliquot 1999–2003, 189).[3] The monument is normally dated to the first century BCE and, given its scale and location, may therefore be linked to the Ituraean tetrarchs (Kropp 2013, 215–216). The pyramidal top of this and similar monuments is often linked to the *nefesh* style of tombstone, associated with Arabic-speaking nomads (Aliquot 1999–2003, 189). The *nefesh* also appears on funerary monuments from Niha dating to the Roman period (see Chapter 8).

There are numerous other explanations for the origin of the Ituraeans. For example, the name Ituraean may simply derive from a description, as *turo* is an Aramaic word for "mountain dwellers" (Dau 1984, 51).

William Muir, the nineteenth-century orientalist, connected the name Iturea with the Hebrew name Jetur, the ancestor of one of the twelve tribes of Ishmael (Muir 1861). Hence the Ituraeans were linked with early biblical references in Genesis (25.15) and 1 Chronicles (1:28–31). Josephus records that the sons of Ishmael inhabited the region from the "Euphrates to the Red Sea" and were the Nabateans, an Arab group. In 1 Chronicles 5:18 is a description of how the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh fought against the Hagarites, Jetur, Naphish, and Nodab. Muir's link would seem to make sense, although the name Iturae is not linked etymologically with Jetur and is rendered differently in Greek. Aliquot (1999–2003, 169) notes that the name Jetur only appears twice in the Old Testament, fewer than the other names in the Chronicles list. Overall the biblical evidence is weak and cannot be used as evidence for the origins of the Ituraeans.

A possible ancestor group for the Ituraeans may be the "Aramaeans." The Aramaeans were the Bronze Age people from upper Mesopotamia and Syria associated with the Aramaic language. The group could be identified with the Ahlamu and hence with references in the Amarna letters (Shaw and Jameson 1999, 70). The Tiglath-Pileser I inscription from the twelfth century BCE uses the term "Ahlamu-Aramaean," thus linking the two names (Shaw and Jameson 1999, 70, Gelb 1961, 28 n. 5). Lipinski (2000, 25), however, contends that the use of the term "Aram" in cuneiform documents from the early to mid-second millennium BCE and the term "Ahlama" throughout the first millennium BCE demonstrates a much earlier origin for the Aramaeans. A link between the Aramaeans and the Ituraeans can be made through geographical considerations. The Aramaeans were present in Amorite and Canaanite areas and threatened

3 The mausoleum at Hermel does not in fact contain a tomb, which was probably located either under or close to the monument.

the kingdoms of David and Solomon (2 Samuel 10:17–18). This suggests that per the standard Biblical chronology, the Aramaeans were present in the Levant from at least c. 1000 BCE, although it should also be noted that it is now largely accepted that the book of Samuel was written long after the events it describes.

A further link between the Aramaeans and the region that later became Ituraean territory can be found in Strabo:

> Bordering on the country of the Apameians, on the east, is the Paropotamia, as it is called, of the Arabian chieftains, as also Chalcidicê, which extends down from Massyas, and all the country to the south of the Apameans, which belongs for the most part to Scenitae. These Scenitae are similar to the nomads in Mesopotamia. And it is always the case that the peoples are more civilised in proportion to their proximity to the Syrians, and that the Arabians and Scenitae are less so, the former having governments that are better organised, as, for example, that of Arethusa under Sampsiceramus, and that of Gambarus, and that of Themellas, and those of other chieftains like them.
>
> STRABO XVI.2.11

The historian Jan Retso believes this may be a direct quote from the earlier Greek historian Posidonius (Retso 2003, 353). Furthermore, Retso identifies Chalcidice with the Ituraean capital Chalcis, given that Massyas was a Greek name for the Bekaa valley (Retso 2003, 353). Hence the Apamaeans or Aramaeans can be identified with the Bekaa valley on this basis. However, as Retso also notes Chalcidice could also refer to Chalcidice south of modern Aleppo in Syria. If Retso is correct in linking the Aramaeans to the Bekaa, this would suggest that they were present in the region later controlled by the Ituraeans for a millennium or more.

There is evidence linking the Ituraeans with the use of the Aramaic language. An Aramaic inscription was recovered from Yanouh, near Byblos, in the 1960s (Aliquot 1999–2003, 189, Chatonnet 2005, 3–10). The inscription is dated as "year 203," but it is unclear which dating system is referenced; however, if Seleucid dates are implied, it would have been inscribed in 110 or 109 BCE. Given that inscriptions at this date in Byblos were written in Phoenician, there is a suggestion that this inscription is associated with the Ituraeans, who were certainly present in this area at the time of Pompey's invasion. Further evidence of Aramaic language use by the Ituraeans can be found on a coin issued by the tetrarch Lysanias, which is inscribed with two Aramaic letters (Aliquot 1999–2003, 190). However, the use of the Aramaic language by the Ituraeans is not surprising, given its regional prevalence, and hence it cannot be used to link

the Ituraeans to the Aramaeans. Overall there is no clear basis upon which to make a straightforward identification of the Aramaeans as ancestors of the Ituraeans.

Despite a considerable amount of research on the topic of the Ituraeans, their origin remains obscure. It remains possible that they were an Arab group who originated in the Syro-Arabian Desert, and like other similar groups they would have been pastoralists who supplemented this with a small amount of raiding activity. Whatever their origin, the Ituraeans became prominent as Seleucid power declined, and they eventually formed a principality centred on the Bekaa valley.

### 3.3.2 *The Ituraean Principality*

The earliest contemporary evidence for the existence of the Ituraean principality comes from coins minted at Chalcis in 73/72 BCE. These coins were issued by Ptolemy, son of Menneus, but did not include his own name (Seyrig 1950, 48). Seyrig (1950, 48) suggests that at this date, Ptolemy did not place his name on the coins because he dared not assume full independence from Tigranes II. It was only after the conquest of Pompey that Ptolemy issued coins in his own name, with the titles “tetrarch” and “high priest.”

Josephus, in his *Antiquities of the Jews*, provides a history of the Jews, including a detailed account of the conquest of the Levant by Pompey in 64–63 BCE and events in the region leading up to it. Given that the focus of Josephus’s work is on the history of the Jews, the preconquest information about the Ituraeans is mainly focused on the contacts between the Jews and the Ituraeans. *Antiquities of the Jews* also provides historical evidence for the existence of an Ituraean principality at the time of the conquest (Josephus XIII.392). Ptolemy continued in power until 40 BCE, when he was killed during the Parthian invasion and left the kingdom to his son Lysanias (Josephus XIV.330). Soon afterward Lysanias was killed by Antony, at the behest of Cleopatra, for his support of the Parthians (Josephus XV.91–92). Antony gave the territory, or perhaps its revenues, as a gift to the children of Cleopatra. After the battle of Actium, the principality was leased to Zenodorus (Josephus XV.344). Zenodorus was the last independent ruler of the Ituraeans, ruling from 30 BCE until deposed around 24 or 23 BCE (Josephus XV.360). Zenodorus engaged in the raiding of caravans near Damascus (Josephus XV.344–346). This led the Roman governor to depose Zenodorus, who subsequently died of a severe intestinal illness (Josephus XV.360). Zenodorus may have been poisoned (Dar 1993, 22). The death of Zenodorus prompted Augustus to split Ituraean territory up, with large parts of the Bekaa becoming part of the Roman colony of Berytus (Dar 1993, 23).

To retain his territory at the time of the Roman conquest, Ptolemy is said to have paid Pompey 1000 talents, a considerable sum, which Pompey then used to pay the wages of his army (Josephus XIV.39). Josephus is scornful of this bribery, describing Ptolemy Menneus as a wicked man (Josephus XIV. 39). Nevertheless, we could interpret this as more than a simple moneymaking scheme for Pompey and suggest that like other small principalities in the region, the Ituraeans became a client kingdom of Rome at this time (Kropp 2013, 27). As noted above, numismatic evidence for the principality is given by coins minted by the line of Ituraean rulers, with effigies bearing the inscriptions "tetrarch" and "high priest" (Wroth 1899, XXIII–XXIV). "Tetrarch" was a Greek title given to the subordinate ruler of a province and originally referred to the rule of "one quarter." Like the Jewish Maccabees to the south, the tetrarchs were also high priests and hence were associated with religious functions (Jones 1931, 265), although whether this can be associated with Baalbek-Heliopolis remains a matter of debate.

The core of the principality was the Bekaa valley, with a capital at Chalcis. The first historical mention of Baalbek-Heliopolis is in Josephus's account of Pompey's conquest of the region, which proceeded through the Bekaa valley before turning toward Damascus (Josephus XIV.40). Scholars have generally interpreted this to mean that Chalcis was located to the south of Baalbek-Heliopolis. As noted earlier, Chalcis may have been built on the site of the Ptolemaic Gerrha and may have been located close to modern Majdal Anjar on the western slopes of the Anti-Lebanon Mountains (Grainger 1991, 113, Jones 1937, 254). Other possible locations for Chalcis have been proposed by various authors, and these have been reviewed by Aliquot (1999–2003, 225–230), although the most likely location is at Majdal Anjar on the site later occupied by a Roman Temple. The name Chalcis may reflect trade in copper, but no mines have been found (Grainger 1991, 149).

There have been several interpretations of the title "high priest," with suggestion that this could be a title derived from the Seleucids or a loose translation of a tribal title (Kropp 2013, 30). However, comparison with neighbours such as Simon Maccabee, Kropp (2013, 30) suggests, implies that the priesthood must have been tied to a sanctuary. This may mean that there was also a separate religious capital, and this could have been located at Baalbek-Heliopolis, although there is no firm evidence to support this (see Myers 2010, 96–97). Indeed, it is also possible that Majdal Anjar itself played this role, given the presence of a later Roman Temple on the site. A division between political and religious centres, if indeed there was one, may reflect Phoenician influence (Grainger 1991, 150). As Grainger notes, however, both Chalcis and Heliopolis were recognisably urban at the time of Pompey's conquest, and so development of both must have begun some time prior to 64 BCE (Grainger 1991, 114).

At the time of the conquest, the Ituraean principality covered large parts of the area that now forms modern Lebanon. At this time the Bekaa contained several villages with Semitic names. Some towns in the Bekaa had acquired Greek names, such as Laodicea-ad-Libanum, Larissa, and Epiphaneia; although Larissa was a settlement as early as the time of Alexander the Great, Laodicea-ad-Libanum was used as a camp by Antiochus III in 219 BCE (Polybius V.98.7), and Epiphaneia was granted its name by Antiochus IV (Grainger 1991, 114). To the east the Ituraeans had settled the eastern slopes of the Anti-Lebanon Mountains in Abilene and in the lava lands of Syria, the Hauran, threatening Damascus (Josephus XIII.392). To the south the territory extended as far as Galilee. Mount Hermon in the Golan was a major Ituraean settlement, according to Dar (1993), although this remains a controversial conclusion, while Paneas and Ulatha, east of the upper Jordan, were part of the lands held by Zenodorus when he died (Josephus XV.360). The Jews came into contact with the southern boundary of the Ituraean principality under the Hasmoneans, 161–143 BCE, and again after expansion under John Hyrkanos around 109–108 BCE (Josephus XIII.275–281). The Hasmoneans waged campaigns into Ituraean territory under Jonathan (1 Macc XI.62–74), reaching as far as Hamat in the northern Bekaa (1 Macc XII.25). Jonathan is said to have also attacked the "Zavdi" tribe, later selling their cattle in Damascus (1 Macc XII.31–32). Another source, the *Seventeenth Adar Megillath Ta'anith*, links the house of Zevda with Chalcis (Dar 1993, 19).

John Hyrkanos's son fought the Ituraeans, and when he had defeated them, required their conversion to Judaism (Josephus, XIII.318–319), although a more gradual conversion process may have taken place (Dar 1993, 20). The territory captured by Hyrkanos's son can probably be identified with the region of Galilee and Gaulantis (Jones 1931, 266).

Immediately prior to the Roman conquest under Pompey, the Jews, Ituraeans, and Nabateans were actively competing for territory in northeast Palestine (Dar 1993, 20). In 60 BCE Salome Alexander sent a small force into Damascus, following a brief occupation by Ituraean and Nabatean forces (Josephus XIII.418). Josephus (XIII.427) later notes that an army from Lebanon and Trachon, presumably controlled by Ptolemy Menneus, came to the aid of Judah Aristobulus II. This suggests a shifting pattern of alliances within a broader context of competition for territory.

To the north and west the Ituraeans gained control of most of the Phoenician coastal plain. They raided the coastal cities from a hill fort at Arca (Grainger 1991, 154). The cities on the coast were independent but under Ituraean control. Tripolis, for example, was ruled by Dionysius, but he was related to the tetrarch of Chalcis by marriage (Grainger 1991, 155). By the time of the Roman

conquest, the Ituraeans had control of Byblos, Botrys, Gigartos, and Berytus (Strabo XVI.2.18).

The Ituraean principality was a substantial territory at the time of the Roman conquest, although this must be pieced together from the historical sources. The growth of the principality followed the collapse of Seleucid authority in the mid-second century, in a similar way to the independence Palestine had achieved under the rule of the Maccabees. The Ituraeans then are of central concern to the early development of Baalbek-Heliopolis and the Bekaa valley. Even Berytus had come under their control immediately prior to the invasion of Pompey.

### 3.3.3 *The History of Berytus*

The earliest possible historical reference to the city of Beirut dates to the third millennium BCE and comes from the Eblaitic texts, where the name *Ba-u-ra-ad* or *Ba-u-ra-du* is found numerous times (Badre 1997, 10, Finkbeiner and Sader 1997, 118, Archi 1993, 175–176). Pettinato (1983, 108–109) identifies this name with Beirut. However, Archi has questioned whether this is correct, as a review of the passages shows that Ba'urtu was a rural centre in the kingdom of Ebla and that the kingdom did not extend as far south as Beirut.[4]

There are several references to Beirut from the second millennium BCE. The name *b'-r-t*, which may refer to Beirut, appears in the annals of the Pharaoh Thutmosis III, dating from the fifteenth century BCE and recorded on the walls of the Karnak Temple of Amun (Ward 1970, 24, Finkbeiner and Sader 1997, 118). *Biruta* appears in the Amarna letters in the fourteenth century BCE, where three letters were sent from Ammunira, king of Beirut, to the Egyptian pharaoh Akhenaton, and six other letters between the kings of Byblos and the Pharaoh Amenophis IV mentioned Beirut (EA 92; 101; 114; 118; 138; 141–143; 155; Badre 1997, 11, Moran 1992). Beirut is also mentioned in texts from the Ugarit dating from the thirteenth century BCE (PRU III: RS 11.730 Virolleaud 1957, PRU IV: RS 17.341 Nougayrol, Boyer, and Laroche 1955, RS 21.183 Nougayrol et al. 1968). In the thirteenth century Hori letter, Beirut is listed among other cities of the Phoenician coast (Pritchard 1969, 477). *Biruti* is also named in a tablet from Ras Ibn Hani, also from the thirteenth century BCE. Daniel Arnaud has interpreted the name as coincidental rather than actually referring to Beirut (Badre 1997, 11, Arnaud 1984, 20–23).

The next reference to Beirut appears around six hundred years later. The name *Bi'ru* appears in the text in the *Prism of Niniveh of Assarhaddon*, which

4 Personal communication from Archi reported in (Badre 1997, 10).

was written in 677 BCE (Badre 1997, 11–12, Ebeling and Meissner 1938, 32). The text contains a series of cities, including *Biʾru*, that have been identified with cities on the Lebanese coast. The final reference to Beirut prior to the Roman period is found in the *Periplus of Pseudo Scylax* from the fourth century BCE.

Given Berytus's subsequent importance, it is perhaps surprising how limited is the historical information from the Hellenistic period. As we will see in the next chapter, archaeological results from the BCD Infrastructure Archaeology Project are now providing more insight into precolonial Berytus. Coins were struck at *Birūta* in the name of Alexander the Great and then under first the Ptolemaic and later the Seleucid kingdoms (Sawaya 2013). Berytus was razed to the ground by Diodotus Tryphon in 140 BCE during the Seleucid civil war with Antiochus VII Sidetes (Strabo XVI.2.19). How quickly Berytus, or Laodicea in Phoenicia, as it was known during the second century BCE, was rebuilt is not clear. However, prosperous merchants from Berytus were recorded in Delos in 110–109 BCE (Mouterde 1964).

### 3.3.4 *Zenodorus Deposed and the Foundation of the Colonia at Berytus and Heliopolis*

> This colony, Colonia Iulia Augusta Felix Berytus, was not only the sole colonial settlement in the Near East under Augustus, but represented by far the most profound and long-lasting Roman or Latin intrusion into the culture of the region in the entire Roman period.
>
> MILLAR 1993, 36

As noted earlier, Zenodorus was deposed from his territories, excluding possibly Ulatha and Paneas, by the Romans in 23 or 24 BCE. To understand the circumstances of his removal requires a close analysis of the two sources, Strabo and Josephus. Here are three key sections of Strabo (XVI.2.18–20):

> "Now all the mountainous parts are held by Ituraeans and Arabians, all of whom are robbers, but the people in the plains are farmers."
>
> But though Berytus was razed to the ground by Tryphon, it has now been restored by the Romans; and it received two legions, which were settled there by Agrippa, who also added to it much of the territory of Massyas, as far as the sources of the Orontes River. These sources are near Mt. Libanus and Paradeisus and the Aegyptian fortress situated in the neighbourhood of the land of the Apameians.
>
> For the most part, indeed, the barbarians have been robbing the merchants from Arabia Felix, but this is less the case now that the band of

> robbers under Zenodorus has been broken up through the good government established by the Romans and through the security established by the Roman soldiers that are kept in Syria.

Josephus (XV.10.1–3) presents a similar account of Zenodorus's activities, noting that it was Varro, governor of Syria, who suppressed Zenodorus and his band on the orders of Augustus and that the land was then given to Herod. Josephus also notes that Zenodorus undertook a personal embassy to Rome to plead his case without success. Josephus then notes the visit of Augustus to Syria in 20 BCE, along with the gruesome death of Zenodorus in Antioch in the same year.

Why was Zenodorus deposed and the Ituraean principality divided up among the colonia of Berytus, Herod, and other client rulers in the years following 24 BCE? The action seems to have been quite a violent and deliberate act that, based on Strabo's account, would seem to be a rather extreme reaction to banditry. Throughout the first century CE, Roman policy toward a client kingdom that was at odds with imperial aims was to recycle the territory to another client king, usually another of Herod's descendants. The Roman punitive action does not seem to have been restricted to the period immediately following 24 BCE. The Latin inscription recording the career of Q. Aemilius Secundus tells us that aside from conducting the census in Apamea in 6 CE for the then governor of Syria, Sulpicius Quirinius, he was also sent on campaign by Quirinius against the Ituraeans on Mount Lebanon. It is clear that military activity against the Ituraeans was still ongoing in the early first century CE and at least twenty years after the death of Zenodorus (ILS no. 2683). The conclusion that I draw from this is that the actions of Zenodorus and his followers were more than isolated acts of banditry and perhaps more akin to a revolt. Rome felt it necessary to divide the principality up into several pieces and plant a veteran colony in the centre. Millar argues that Strabo intended to link the security situation with the foundation of the colony in his description as quoted above (Millar 1993, 36). In my opinion the foundation of the veteran colony at Berytus and Heliopolis must have been a Roman response to a deteriorating security situation and specifically one that was threatening Damascus or its approaches. While the level of threat is difficult to prove, it should be noted that elsewhere in the region, Rome persisted with its client kingdom policy rather than impose Roman control in the form of a colonia.

There remains an open question about the nature of the control of Ituraean territory between the time Zenodorus was removed and the later foundation of the colonia. Josephus (XV.344) records that the territory was given to Herod the Great, although Josephus is not specific about what is included. It is pos-

sible then that the territory of the northern Bekaa that was later included in the colonia was handed temporarily to Herod the Great, a point that will be considered later in the context of the late Hellenistic phase of development at Baalbek-Heliopolis.

The date of 15 BCE for the foundation of the colonia is given by Jerome's Chronicle (191.3). This date is plausible if Agrippa founded the colonia, as he was present in the region during this period (Millar 2006, 169). The veterans that were settled came from two legions, Fifth Legio Macedonica and Eighth Legio Augusta, as evidenced by the presence of the *signa* of the two legions of coins issued by Berytus from the Augustan period onward (RPC 4547). It is also possible, as noted earlier, that veteran settlement began sometime before the formal foundation of the colonia (Millar 2006, 170), which would likely be the case if the veteran settlement was associated with veterans of Actium (Hall 2004, 46).

Exactly what was the nature of the colony founded by Agrippa in 15 BCE? Here historical opinion is divided. By the time of the late empire, we know that there were two separate *coloniae*, one at Berytus and one at Heliopolis. The question remains whether or not the colony at Heliopolis was established in 15 BCE at the same time as the colony of Berytus or whether Heliopolis fell within the territory granted to Berytus in 15 BCE and was then granted the status of a colonia later, perhaps by Septimus Severus. The evidence from the passage in Strabo points to the latter interpretation (Strabo, XVI.2.19). Strabo reports that Berytus was given much of the territory of Massyas (the Bekaa valley) as far as the source of the Orontes, that is Heliopolis. This additional grant of territory may simply reflect the fact that Berytus lacked sufficient good-quality land nearby; the land surrounding Beirut rises quickly to the East after all. It may also have reflected a deliberate decision to retain the northern Bekaa under direct Roman control. The decision may have been based on the security situation.[5] It may also simply reflect that the Bekaa valley provided the most fertile land in Roman Syria and that Rome retained control of the region to ensure supplies for the three Roman legions based in Syria under Augustus. Fergus Millar is happy to take Strabo at his word and concludes that Heliopolis was not a separate colonia until Septimus Severus (Millar 1993, 279).

A.H.M. Jones concluded the opposite, however, finding it difficult to accept that the territory of a single colony could be so large (Jones 1931, 266). We do not

5 In this context it is worth pointing out that under the new Roman territorial division, assuming that Heliopolis was the religious capital of the Ituraeans, it was separated from the secular capital, Chalcis, which was incorporated in another territory.

know the boundaries of the territory, but based on Strabo, it would be reasonable to suggest that all the Bekaa from modern Zahle to Baalbek was included in the colonia territory. This would give a territory of at least three hundred square kilometres, added to whatever territory was associated with Berytus itself. This area may seem large but is comparable with, for example, the Flavian centuriation system at Corinth, which covers the same three hundred square kilometre area (Romano 2006, 68). It is also clear that other neighbouring cities to Berytus had large inland territories. Josephus records that the territories of Damascus and coastal Sidon touched each other (Josephus, Ant. XVIII.6.3). As Millar points out, this can only have been somewhere on Mount Hermon or in the southern Bekaa (Millar 1993, 38) and a considerable distance inland from Sidon. Damascus is 85 km from Sidon, with the western slopes of Mount Hermon rising from the southern Bekaa around 40 km from Damascus. Jones's argument on the grounds of size does not hold up under detailed scrutiny.

The numismatic evidence from Ziad Sawaya (2009) is very clear on this point. Sawaya argues that Heliopolis used the coinage of Berytus until 194 CE, when it started to produce its own coin series based on examples of the earlier series from Berytus (Sawaya 2009, 147–149). The transition corresponds perfectly with the early period of Septimus Severus's reign. One major piece of evidence runs counter to this argument for a late separation of Heliopolis from Berytus, and this comes in the form of an inscription found when excavating the foundation of a free-starnding column in the Great Courtyard of the Temple of Jupiter at Baalbek. The inscription begins, "To Jupiter Optimus Maxiums Heliopolitanus for the health of the emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, father of the land" and is therefore clearly dated to the reign of Hadrian (Seyrig 1961, 112). The inscription was raised in honour of Lucius Antoninus Silanis of the Third Legion Augusta, who is described as a Heliopolitan. The Third Legion Augusta was based in Africa throughout this period, first at Ammaedera and later at Lambaesis. The soldier in question presumably came from Heliopolis. However, if Heliopolis was part of the colonia of Berytus in the reign of Hadrian, one might expect the inscription to read "Berytus" instead. A further complication arises from epigraphic evidence in the region of Mount Hermon, which suggests that Roman veterans were also settled there, despite the fact that the region of Mount Hermon fell under the control of Herod (Dar 1993, 23). The weight of evidence, in my opinion, favours a late date for the formation of a separate colonia at Heliopolis. What is not in dispute is the fact that Baalbek-Heliopolis and the northern Bekaa were under direct Roman administrative control from around 15 BCE until the Islamic conquest some 650 years later.

After the foundation of the colonia, some areas of the Bekaa valley remained outside its boundaries. As noted above, the territories previously held by Zen-

odorus were handed over to Herod to govern, and these included those to the southeast of the Bekaa, Trachonitis, Batanea, and Aurianitis. The status of Chalcis and the southern Bekaa is not clear in this early period. It may have been granted to Sohaemus, king of Emesa under Caligula (Dio Cassius, LIX.12.2), although it is unclear to which Ituraean territory Dio Cassius refers. The territory was next mentioned in 41 CE, when the territory was granted to Herod, brother of Agrippa I (Josephus, Ant. XIX.5.1). In 50 CE Agrippa II was given Chalcis to govern after the death of his uncle (Josephus, BJ. II.12.1), presumably to test his abilities. In 53 CE Agrippa II exchanged Chalcis for a much larger kingdom, encompassing Gaulonitis, Batanea, Trachonitis, the tetrarchy of Lysanias, and the "kingdom that Varus had governed," although it is not know where this last territory lay (Josephus, BJ. II.12.8). The tetrarchy of Lysanias (II) must have controlled Abilene prior to this time, and it is likely that Zenodorus, who was buried at Baalbek-Heliopolis, was from this family (see Chapter 9). What happened to Chalcis after it was removed from Agrippa II is not clear. It is also possible that the cities of Sidon and Tyre were granted large territories in the period (Jones 1931, 266) and, as noted earlier, they certainly were known to have large inland territories in first century CE (Josephus, Ant. XVIII.6.3, BJ. III.3.1; II.18.1). It is therefore possible that these territories stretched as far as the Bekaa. Historical sources do not inform us which territory covered Mount Hermon in this period. However, Dar (1993, 23–24) suggests that some of the settlements he surveyed near Mount Hermon date from this period and may therefore reflect an extension of the programme of settlement of Jews, Edomites, and Babylonians conducted by Herod and recorded by Josephus for the areas of Trachonitis and Batanea (Josephus, Ant. XVII.2.1). The conclusion Dar reaches therefore is that Mount Hermon was under Herodian control after Zenodorus had been removed. To the north of the Bekaa, the territory of Emesa was held by the local dynasty of Samsigeramus and Iamblichus (Millar 1993, 34). Given the statement of Strabo that the territory of the colonia stretched as far as the Orontes (Strabo, XVI.2.19), the territory of Emesa may have covered the northern Bekaa, or this territory may have been part of Roman Syria. Later in 18/19 CE, another Samsigeramus was in control of Emesa, which is known from an inscription at Heliopolis in honour of his son Gaius Julius Sohaemus, who is named as a friend of Caesar and a friend of the Romans in the inscription and a patron of the colony (ILGS 2760 Rey-Coquais 1967, 84).

The territories that were controlled by the colony remain unclear in both the Bekaa valley and near Berytus. For the Bekaa valley, the Mount Lebanon range provided a natural boundary to the west. The presence of the *pagus Augustus* at Niha is a strong indication that it was in colonial territory (Rey-Coquais 1979, 170). Further north on the ridge separating Yammouné from the Bekaa valley

was the monument of Mahattat ed-Dabbouis that was erected by the colony of Heliopolis. Rey-Coquais (1979, 170) argues that this likely represents the border of colonial territory, and hence Yammouné would lie outside it. To the east of the valley, the natural boundary provided by the Anti-Lebanon range likely represented the border. There are a series of Latin inscriptions in the name of Nero near Nebi Chit on the eastern side of the Bekaa. These could mark an imperial boundary, probably with the territory of the tetrarchy of Abilene, which was under the control of Agrippa II in the time of Nero (Aliquot 2009a, 47). Whether the border was with colonial territory or with the province of Syria is unclear. To the south the border was likely to have been defined by the lake formed by the Litani River (Aliquot 2009a, 55) with Chalcis, close to the northern border of its own territory. Of course, the position of the lake is now unclear, and the border was probably close to the position of modern Chtaura, where the road from Beirut to Damascus enters the Bekaa. To the north the border lay somewhere to the north of Baalbek. If Strabo (XVI.2.19) is taken at face value, the territory extended to the sources of the Orontes River, which are located at Baalbek, and this would suggest that the city lay at the northern end of colonial territory. However, the border could have been farther north, potentially as far as Hermel (Aliquot 2009a, 57, Rey-Coquais 1979, 170).

The territory around Berytus is also uncertain. The sanctuary at Deir el-Qalaa was certainly attached to the colony, as is clear from its position overlooking Berytus and by the diverse nature of devotion at the site (Hošek 2011). To the south of Berytus, the boundary with the territory of Sidon was likely the mouth of Edamour River at Khan Khaldé (Aliquot 2009a, 56). To the north the boundary with the territory of Byblos is unclear.

The Flavian period marked the beginning of a gradual conversion of client kingdoms into provinces or their absorption by provinces. In around 72/73 CE Caesennius Paetus, the legate of Syria, was given permission to invade Parthia by Vespasian (Millar 1993, 81–82). Paetus took two client kings, Aristobulus of Chalcis and Sohaemus of Emesa, and their forces with him (Millar 1993, 82). Very little is known about Aristobulus, but we do know that the kingdom of Emesa was incorporated into the province of Syria at some point shortly after the invasion of Parthia. A milestone erected near Apamea in 75 CE in the name of the then legate of Syria, Marcus Ulpius Traianus, the father of Trajan, may reflect the incorporation of this area into Syria (Millar 1993, 82).

Agrippa II was the last surviving prince of the house of Herod I. When he died childless, the dynasty ended, and all his various territories were absorbed into the province of Syria. The date of his death is unknown. The *Bibliotheca of Photius* states that Agrippa died in the third year of the rule of Trajan, around 100 CE (Millar 1993, 91). However, consideration of Josephus's *Antiqui-*

*ties* suggests that Batanea was a provincial territory by 93/94 CE (Millar 1993, 91). Other documentary evidence and a number of inscriptions also suggest that Agrippa II died around 92/93 CE (Millar 1993, 92). At this point, once his kingdom had been absorbed, the Bekaa and all surrounding territory were part of Roman Syria. The first time that Roman control over the region had been geographically contiguous in an official sense, some 150 years after the conquest by Pompey. The relationship between the governance of the colonia of Berytus/Heliopolis and that of the province of Roman Syria is not clear, however. With the consolidation of Agrippa II's territories into Roman Syria, no further major administrative changes to Syria took place until the accession of Septimus Severus.

Under Septimus Severus, Heliopolis was granted the status of colonia. The underlying reason behind the separation of Berytus and Heliopolis may lie in the civil war between Septimus Severus and Pescennius Niger (Millar 2006, 191). The title *colonia* was bestowed on cities that provided support to Severus, such as Tyre (Millar 2006, 195). Herodian (III.3.3–5) records hostility between Tyre and Berytus, suggesting that Berytus took the other side in the civil war. Berytus was therefore punished with the loss of territory, or Heliopolis received the honour for its support of Severus (see *Digest*. L.15.1–2).

CHAPTER 4

# Pre-Hellenistic and Hellenistic Berytus

## 4.1 Introduction

Strabo (XVI.2.19) records that Berytus was razed to the ground by the Seleucid usurper Diodotus Tryphon in 140 BCE, during his contest with Antiochus VII Sidetes for the Seleucid kingdom, and then restored by the Romans. This passage of Strabo has led to much speculation that Berytus was abandoned, at least in part, between 140 BCE and the foundation of the colonia in 15 BCE. As was noted in Chapter 2, there is limited historical evidence of Berytus in this period. Prior to the BCD Infrastructure Archaeology Project, there was very limited archaeological evidence from any period of Berytus; however, that has now changed, and the excavation programme has provided much more insight into pre-Roman Berytus.

This chapter explores the archaeological evidence provided by the BCD archaeology programme on pre-Roman Berytus to place the later development of the colonia in context and to determine to what extent Strabo was correct in asserting that the Romans "restored" Berytus.

## 4.2 Palaeolithic–Chalcolithic Activity (through 3000 BCE)

The earliest activity on the site of Beirut can be dated to the Lower Palaeolithic. Around 50 Acheulian bifaced stone tools were recovered from the left bank of Beirut River at the very end of the nineteenth century (Copeland and Wescombe 1965, 73–74). From the Middle Paleolithic, Levalloisian flint and bone were recovered from a site located in a mulberry orchard close to the railway station in 1898 by Zumoffen (Copeland and Wescombe 1965, 74). A second Middle Palaeolithic site containing material described as Mousterian was located on the beach below the Avenue de Français (Copeland and Wescombe 1965, 73), which has now disappeared completely beneath later development but would have been to the east of the modern Four Seasons Hotel. Palaeolithic tools were also recovered from the area of the Ancient Tell during the excavation of BEY 003 (Badre 1997, 12). Neolithic material was recovered from three sites, the first containing Neolithic flakes on the surface and a possible hut circle (Copeland and Wescombe 1965, 73), although the location is now lost. Polished hand axes may also have been found at this site. A second Neolithic site

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produced a javelin head and was located on the grounds of the Lebanese Evangelical School for Girls, in downtown Beirut. Chalcolithic tools from the Enéol industry were recovered from a site north of Tarik-el-Jdideh. Finally, a Neolithic hammer stone was recovered from the area of the Ancient Tell (Finkbeiner and Sader 1997, 117, Saidah 1970, 139).

## 4.3 Bronze Age (3000 BCE–1200 BCE)

The earliest settlement activity in Beirut dates to the Early Bronze Age. The centre of Bronze Age activity, the Ancient Tell, has been long known to be located on the promontory at the eastern side of downtown Beirut, which was later used as the site of a crusader castle (Badre 1996, 87). Archaeological excavations by Roger Saidah in the 1950s revealed four rock-carved tombs with grave goods from the Middle to Late Bronze Age (Chéhab 1955, Saidah 1993–1994). The site itself was relatively well protected until recent times as the centre of activity shifted from the tell to the lower town during the Iron Age and remained there during the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Finkbeiner 2001–2002, 29, Curvers and Stuart 2006, 203 f.). Ottoman activity was limited, and a cemetery partially covered the site (Finkbeiner and Sader 1997, 119). The crusader castle was destroyed between 1870 and 1900, and the cemetery was removed along with the eastern fortifications in 1915 (Finkbeiner and Sader 1997, 119). Further damage to the site was caused by construction activity in the 1950s and 1960s, particularly with the construction of the Rivoli cinema and the Byblos warehouse (Finkbeiner and Sader 1997, 121). The site of the tell itself is relatively small at around 250 m by 120 m, an area of around 2 ha, although this is comparable to the size of Megiddo and Jericho in the Early Bronze Age (Badre 1996, 91). Figure 8 illustrates the location of both the Ancient Tell in a plan of modern Beirut.

### 4.3.1 *Early Bronze Age*[1]

The earliest settlement activity lies in the southeast corner of the castle and within the excavation area BEY 003 (Badre 2001–2002, 1). Two walls set at rights angles to each other, 50 cm wide and preserved to a height of 90 cm, were discovered along with a hard packed floor (Badre 1997, 14). The walls were found in a black-clay layer over the bedrock. The black-clay layer contained pottery con-

1 A full timeline of the Bronze Age, Iron Age, and Classical Period can be found in Appendix A.

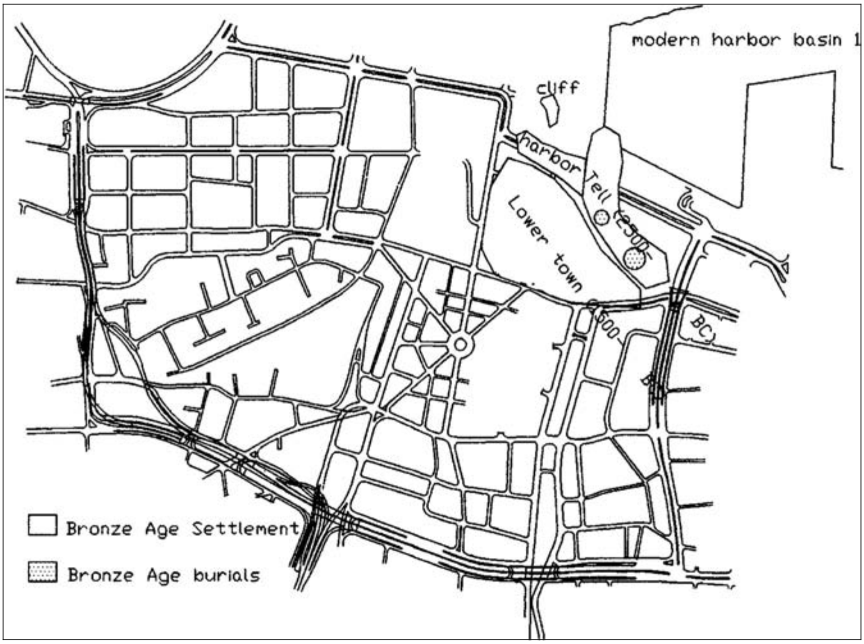


FIGURE 8 A plan of Beirut showing the location of the Ancient Tell
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sistent with EB III. Above the settlement there was a 10 cm destruction layer containing pottery from EB III and EB IV. Hence it is clear that settlement at Beirut began no later than the Early Bronze Age.

### 4.3.2 *Middle Bronze Age*

#### 4.3.2.1 Urban Settlement and Defences

Around 20 m east–southeast of the south tower of the castle lie the remains of Middle Bronze Age settlement activity. A series of three mud-brick walls and an associated mud-beaten floor were found (Badre 1997, 23–24). The largest of the walls was 2 m wide and ran for 13 m before the foundations of the Byblos warehouse truncated it. The mud-beaten floor had many pottery sherds broken in situ. From this floor, one complete jar can be dated to MB II, as similar examples were recovered from Byblos and the Kharji tombs in Beirut (Badre 1997, 24, Saidah 1993–1994, 150). Some pottery items had parallels at other sites in the Levant, including Tell Gezer and Tell Hazor.

Around 3.5 m south of the mud-brick wall lay the first fortification wall. This wall was preserved for a length of 15 m, was 1 m wide, and stood on stone foundations (Badre 1997, 26). Black clay coated the wall, suggesting that a mud-brick wall originally topped it (Badre 1997, 26). The fill between this fortification wall

and the building to the north contained material typical of EB III, and this suggested it had been brought from elsewhere (Badre 1997, 26). An earthen *glacis* with a thirty degree slope was added later and is typical of sites in Bronze Age Palestine (Badre 1997, 26–28).

A further 13 m to the south of the first fortification wall lies the second fortification wall (Badre 1997, 28). This wall is founded on large flat stones and constructed of irregular limestone blocks without mortar and joined with small flat stones (Badre 1997, 28). The wall is preserved to a standing height of 6 m in places and runs for around 15 m in BEY 003, including a monumental gateway (Badre 1997, 7), and for 12.5 m in BEY 020 4–4. The wall was reinforced with 0.8 m pilasters at 5 m intervals in BEY 003 (Finkbeiner and Sader 1997, 124–126). The monumental gateway is 2.10 m across and was constructed in two phases, with an L-shaped defensive chicane added later (Badre 1997, 28). The gateway contained a mixture of pottery from EB III–IV and MB II, allowing the excavators to date the gateway to MB II (Badre 1997, 30). Finkbeiner and Sader (1997, 126) similarly conclude on a Bronze Age date for this wall. Karam (1997, 107), however, concludes that the fortification wall is much earlier and dates it to EB IV.

The later construction of Glacis I (Badre 1997, 48) appears to have been designed to block the monumental gateway, and it is unclear whether or not it extends farther (Badre 1997, 50). The glacis was constructed from rubble limestone and pebbles bonded with soil and had an angle of twenty degrees (Badre 1997, 48). The material in the gateway dated to MB II provides a *terminus post quem* for construction. Curvers (2001–2002, 59), however, dates Glacis I in the early Iron Age.

#### 4.3.2.2 The Temple

A structure in the northwest of the Ancient Tell can with some degree of confidence be identified as a MB II Temple, based on the architectural features and a hoard of objects found in a rock-cut room beneath the structure. The building consists of a mud-brick wall on the south side, running for about 16.5 m and, on the north side, a mud-brick base for a wooden column (Badre 2001–2002, 6). Two additional rooms make the east–west length of the building around 25 m. The presence of a free-standing column is frequently associated with Bronze Age Temples (Badre 2001–2002, 6). A monolithic rectangular basis was set into the floor and may be interpreted as having a cultic function (Badre 2001–2002, 6). A few finds which were recovered from the structure itself, including a small number of finds were recovered including a few storage jars of Middle Bronze Age date (Badre 2001–2002, 7). The building was probably levelled completely prior to later construction.

Most of the finds associated with the Temple came from the rock-cut room beneath the structure. The floor of the room lay 5.5 m beneath the structure (Badre 2001–2002, 7). The finds included three cream-and-brown alabaster jugs with parallels from eighteenth- to thirteenth-century-BCE tomb contexts at Ugarit and Byblos; two alabaster vases; four basalt bowls; three pieces of fine grayware, of which one jug may be associated with Tell el Yahudigeh; five faïence vases of various shapes, including one with a palm design attested on other faïence vases from Middle Bronze Age Palestine; a series of faïence figurines: hippopotamus, sphinx, recumbent ram, hedgehog, and a grape cluster, some of which have parallels found at Byblos and at Tell el Amarna; a bronze dagger; and eleven miniature bronze vessels (Badre 2001–2002, 8). The collection is characteristic of MB II and is very similar to the foundation deposits associated with Temples at Byblos (Badre 2001–2002, 8).

#### 4.3.2.3 Burials

Two jar burials were found in the northwest of the tell, both orientated east–west (Badre 2001–2002, 5). The first contained the remains of a young girl. A necklace was found around her neck with four carnelian beads, two rock-crystal beads, two gold beads, and a garnet bead. Two piriform jugs were placed around the burial. The jar displayed decoration that was prevalent from the Early Bronze Age through the Middle Bronze Age. The second jar burial was badly damaged and contained the remains of a newborn. Both jar burials can be dated to MB II.

In 1954 Roger Saidah excavated four rock-cut tombs in the southeastern area of the tell (Saidah 1993–1994). Two of the tombs were accessed via the same shaft, while the other two had separate access. Although no skeletal material was recovered from tombs, a variety of grave goods were recovered, including beads, bronze toggle pins, flints, imported pottery, metal weapons, and tools. The material dates from the Middle Bronze Age through to the Late Bronze Age, suggesting the tombs may have been used for multiple burials over a period of time.

### 4.3.3 *Late Bronze Age*

#### 4.3.3.1 Destruction Layers over Glacis I

Badre (1997, 50) identified eleven layers above Glacis I, including four ash layers from fires. The pottery recovered from these layers is a mixture of local and imported pottery types and is consistent with an LB II date.

#### 4.3.3.2 Rock-Cut Chamber

Immediately to the west of the rock-cut room was a second rock-cut chamber (Badre 1997, 54). This chamber was rectangular in shape, 5.5 by 4.5 m. The southern and eastern sides had gaps that were in filled with walls. There was no evidence to suggest that the chamber was a tomb. The finds from the chamber were mostly pottery, some locally made and some imported from Mycenae and Cyprus. The pottery is consistent with a date of LB II.

#### 4.3.3.3 Lower Town Development?

There is a small amount of evidence for the development of the lower town outside the defensive system of the tell in the Late Bronze Age. BEY 114 revealed wall foundations beneath Glacis II, a strong indication that structures were present outside the defences in the Late Bronze Age (Curvers 2001–2002, 61–62). Furthermore the lowest levels in BEY 105 contained two parallel walls with pottery best dated to the Late Bronze Age (Curvers 2001–2002, 62).

## 4.4 Iron Age (1200 BCE–323 BCE)

### 4.4.1 *Defences*

#### 4.4.1.1 Glacis II

Perhaps the most spectacular find for the pre-Roman period was that of Glacis II. Around 10 m to the south of Glacis I, another fortification wall and glacis were constructed (Badre 1997, 60–72, Finkbeiner and Sader 1997, 126–130). The glacis is preserved to a height of 7.5 m in places and for a length of 35 m in BEY 003, although a section of 60 m was destroyed by the foundations of the Byblos building (Badre 1997, 64). The glacis then reappears in BEY 020, running for 40 m, and then continues into BEY 013 for 50 m (Finkbeiner and Sader 1997, 126). The glacis clearly forms the curved southern boundary of the ancient city (Badre 1997, 64). The glacis is set at an angle of between 30 and 35 degrees and has a width of 9 m, or 11 m if measured down the slope (Finkbeiner and Sader 1997, 126). The covering of the glacis is not regular, with some areas using limestone slabs up to 0.5 m in length and other areas having a dense covering of small stones, and this may indicate a series of repairs (Finkbeiner and Sader 1997, 127). A retaining wall was constructed at the foot of the glacis and later replaced by a second retaining wall farther back, presumably as material built up on top of the glacis (Finkbeiner and Sader 1997, 128–129).

The dating of Glacis II has proven controversial. Badre (1997, 64) argues that the destruction layers on Glacis I provide a *terminus post quem* for the construction of Glacis II, while the buildup of material on top of Glacis II provides

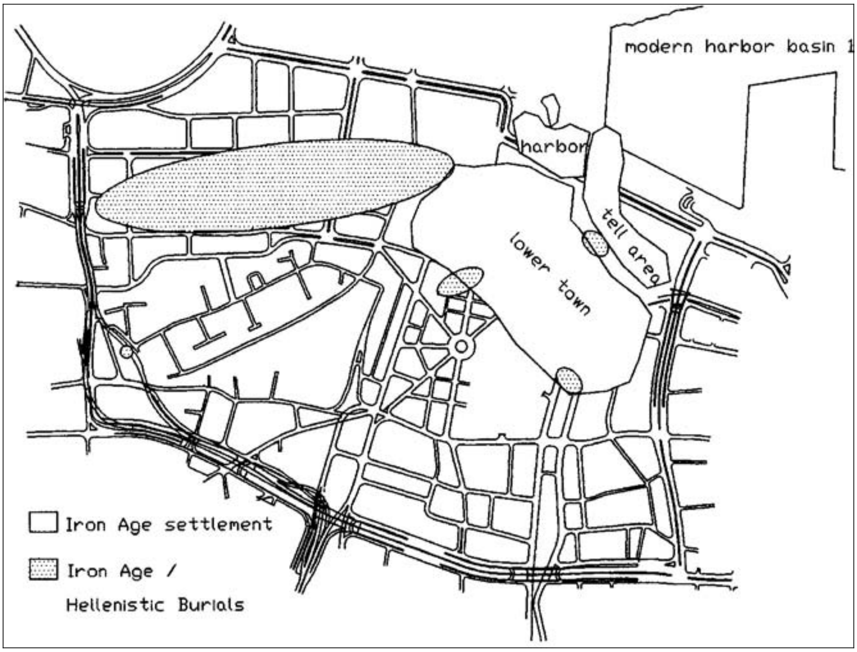


FIGURE 9 A map showing the main areas of development in the Iron Age superimposed on modern Beirut
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a *terminus ante quem*. Given the dating of the material on Glacis I, this gives the earliest date of construction as LB II. The earliest material found on Glacis II in BEY 013 dates to IA I and II, giving a *terminus ante quem* of the ninth or tenth century BCE. Badre (1997, 66–68) further argues that a layer of ash on top of the glacis dates prior to the ninth century BCE because of the absence of red slip pottery. The subsequent brown soil layer does contain red slip ware and is therefore dated to the eighth through seventh century BCE (Badre 1997, 68). However, Finkbeiner (2001–2002, 27) notes that the earliest material on top of Glacis II in BEY 020 dates from around 700 BCE. Finkbeiner (2001–2002, 28) also argues that it is likely that material built up quickly on the glacis after its construction and therefore concludes that Glacis II is of Iron Age date. Furthermore, Finkbeiner (2001–2002, 28–29) points to the multiphased construction of the southern gate as evidence that the construction of the glacis itself may have involved multiple phases, thus making dating more difficult. Curvers (2001–2002, 57–59) also argues strongly in favour of an IA II–III date for Glacis II and also makes clear that the development of defences may not have followed a simple sequence with multiple elements of defence in simultaneous operation.

#### 4.4.1.2 Casemate Wall Building

An almost complete building was found constructed on top of the material covering Glacis II and to the west of it in BEY 003 (Badre 1997, 76). This building had at least seven rooms, and its southern wall abuts a second wall, creating what Badre (1997, 76) describes as a "retaining-defensive 'casemate' wall." The building was probably a warehouse and was destroyed by fire (Badre 1997, 80); it contained both local and imported ceramics. Badre (1997, 80–84) compared the local pottery to types recovered from Tell Keisan, Sarepta, and Tyre, dating them to IA IIC. The imported pottery included amphorae from Cyrus and Greece and showed similar dates of eighth through seventh century BCE (Badre 1997, 86). Finally, the head of a terracotta figure and terracotta moulded mask were recovered, the former being similar to objects found at Shrine I at Sarepta, also dated to eighth through seventh century BCE (Badre 1997, 88). Curvers (2001–2002, 57–58) questions dating this building to the seventh century BCE, pointing to debate around the dating of the levels at Tell Keisan, and on the basis of criteria used in the context of Tell Dor, he proposes a date of fifth to fourth century.

### 4.4.2 *Dog Cemetery*

In BEY 020, seven dog skeletons were recovered from the layers above Glacis II, with a further three skeletons unexcavated in surrounding balks (Finkbeiner and Sader 1997, 129). The skeletons were found above other Iron Age layers but below the burnt layer and are believed to date to the Persian period (Finkbeiner and Sader 1997, 129). The dogs were deliberately buried in shallow pits, and three were covered with large pot sherds. There is no evidence of sacrifice (Finkbeiner and Sader 1997, 131); nevertheless the burials clearly do not just represent hygienic disposal of the animal remains.

Finkbeiner and Sader (1997, 129) compare this dog cemetery with the dog burials at Ashkelon, where around 1,400 dogs were buried in the Achaemenid period over an eighty year period, a burial number that may indeed have been higher, as some parts of the site were lost to erosion (Stager 1991, 27–30). The dogs were buried in shallow pits in the edge of the central Tell with no evidence of violent death (Edrey 2008, 267, Finkbeiner and Sader 1997, 129). An analysis of the population suggests that the dogs died a natural death and were buried over a period (Finkbeiner and Sader 1997, 131). In fact the burials at Ashkelon are just one example, and in his review article, Edrey (2008), Identifies many other examples from the Levant. Edrey (2008, 269) firmly rejects the arguments of Wapnish and Hesse (1993) that there was no cult association with the dog burials at Ashkelon. Edrey (2008) identifies many possible cult associations in the context of Ashkelon. For the dog burials at Beirut, perhaps the most interesting

possible association is with Astarte/Aphrodite (Edrey 2008, 273–274), although there are many other possibilities, including Zoroastrianism, the official cult of the Achaemenid dynasty.

### 4.4.3 *Lower Town, Harbour, and Working Areas*

As was noted earlier, the development of the lower town appears to have begun at the end of the Bronze Age. Bronze Age and Iron Age material has been identified in at least twenty-one excavations outside the tell area. There is evidence for urban planning in some areas of the lower town. Excavation of BEY 010 revealed multiroom houses on both sides of a north–south street, while the east–west street in the south of BEY 010 has a canalisation (Curvers 2005, 125). BEY 118 also revealed a similar canalisation in an east–west street (Curvers 2005, 125). Extrapolation of the plan in BEY 010 to BEY 118 showed a potential grid unit of 48 by 14 m (Curvers 2005, 125). It appears that in the vicinity of BEY 010 (Souks), there was a highly sophisticated urban settlement with a grid plan and canalisation running along east–west streets to remove storm and waste water (Curvers and Stuart 2006, 203). Other areas, such as BEY 105, did not show a regular plan, so it seems unlikely that the whole town was planned using a grid structure (Curvers 2005, 127).

The site of the harbour prior to the Roman period has now been established through geoarchaeological analysis of core samples taken from sites to the east and west of the ancient tell (Marriner, Morhange, and Saghieh-Beidoun 2008). The ancient port lies in the bay formed between the Hosn al-Mina and the western promontory in the Souks area (Curvers 2001–2002, Marriner, Morhange, and Saghieh-Beidoun 2008, 2506). The existence of the harbour in this location can also be inferred from the presence of a ramp in BEY 032, which would have been designed to allow goods arriving in the harbour to be taken up into the tell (Curvers 2001–2002, 62). Furthermore an Iron Age III/Persian period quay was found in BEY 039 (Elayi and Sayegh 2000). The location of the waterfront was moved some 70 m between the Bronze Age and the Roman period, although the northern limit of the harbour area probably did not change, and Ottoman nineteenth-century seawalls may have reused earlier structures (Marriner, Morhange, and Saghieh-Beidoun 2008, 2504, 2508).

Working areas have also been identified from the excavation programme. In BEY 105 close to the harbour, small cubicles were found with circular or rectilinear features that may have carried ovens (Curvers 2001–2002, 64). A series of silos also found in this area suggest grain storage associated with the harbour (Curvers 2001–2002, 64,66). On the southeastern corner of the lower town in BEY 113, 126, and 127, ovens, silos, and pits were found, suggesting a working

area away from the centre of town and ideally located to disperse smells away from the city, given western prevailing winds (Curvers and Stuart 1999, 22).

### 4.4.4 *Burials*

There are several burials of Iron Age date that were located on the edges of the contemporary settlement. These burials can be placed in two main groups, pit burials and rock-cut burials, with one additional burial from the twelfth century.

The twelfth-century burial was located in BEY 007, in the Souks area (Stuart 2001–2002, 88, Seeden and Thorpe 1997–1998). This was a shaft burial with a pit cut into the bedrock only slightly larger than the body. The body was positioned lying on the back with the right hand placed against the cheek and the left hand against the body. Near the right hand, a bone amulet was found with the cartouche of Ramses IV, who reigned from 1155 to 1149 BCE (Ward 1997–1998).

Pit burials were found in various locations to the south and east of the Iron Age lower town. Ten burials were found in the area covering the glacis and ramp in BEY 032 (Curvers 2001–2002, 68, Stuart 2001–2002, 88). Five pit graves were found in BEY 066 (Martyrs' Square) and a further eleven, dating to the third or fourth century BCE, were found in the area to the south of the Souks (Stuart 2001–2002, 89).

The rock-cut burials were of several different forms; some consisted of a single shaft, while others had a shaft leading to one or two caves (Stuart 2001–2002, 89). The shafts varied in depth between 2.5 and 5 m and had ledges cut into the sides to support boulders used to block the entrance (Stuart 2001–2002, 89). The rock-cut burials were located to the west of the lower town in BEY 017, 018, 040, 045, 053, 063, and 076 (Stuart 2001–2002, Curvers and Stuart 1997, Stuart and Curvers 1997, Thorpe 1998–1999b, 63–65).

The orientation of both types of grave was mostly west–east, with the head pointing east and the body extended and lying on the back (Stuart 2001–2002, 105). Children were underrepresented in the population, suggesting that different funerary practices were applied (Stuart 2001–2002, 105). The pit burials had no grave goods, while a variety of different objects were recovered from the rock-cut burials, with the more sophisticated tomb types containing more grave goods (Stuart 2001–2002, 105). The burials and their contents clearly represent the wealth distribution present during the Iron Age. Wealthier individuals were buried to the west of the settlement in rock-cut tombs, while those less well off were buried to the south or east of the settlement in an area otherwise associated with industrial activity (see section 4.4.3).

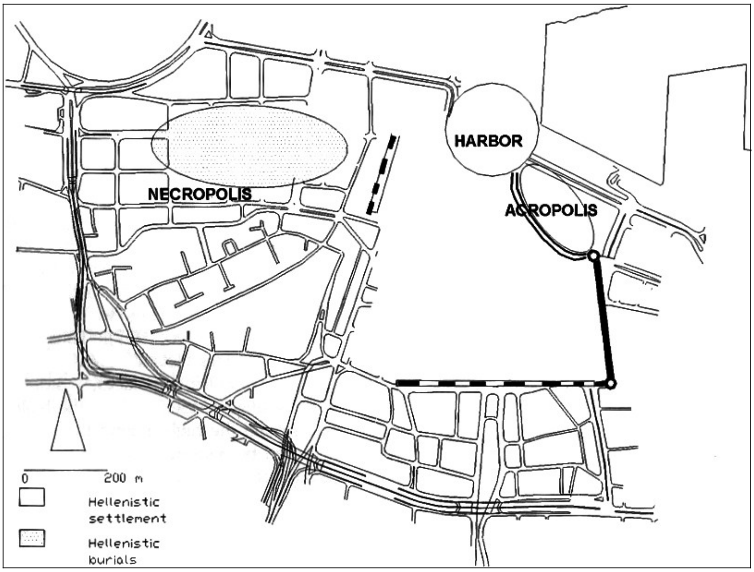


FIGURE 10 A map showing the Hellenistic city superimposed on modern Beirut
AFTER H. CURVES AND B. STUART, 1998–1999

## 4.5 Hellenistic (323 BCE–15 BCE)

During the Hellenistic period, there were several changes of regional political control. After the conquests of Alexander the Great, Beirut was left under Ptolemaic control. It seems that, as in the Iron Age, Beirut remained a dependency of Sidon (Curvers and Stuart 2006, 204), and this is reflected in the origin of the majority of amphorae from this period recovered during the excavations (Curvers and Stuart 2006, 204). With the Levantine conquests of Antiochus III, control of Beirut changed to the Seleucids. In the first half of the second century BCE Beirut was able to assert independence from Sidon, and this is reflected in coins (Butcher 2001–2002b, a) and ceramics (Reynolds 1999). As was noted earlier, Tryphon was said to have razed Beirut in 140 BCE, leading some historians to conclude that Beirut was abandoned until the reconstruction under the Romans.

### 4.5.1 *Defences*

Hellenistic defences of the lower-town area have been identified on the eastern side of the city, with remains present in BEY 013, 015, and 132 (Curvers and Stuart 1999, 23). This wall had rounded bastions (Curvers and Stuart 1999, 23, Karam 1997). A further segment of wall was identified in sections of trench excavated for the Georges Haddad Underpass (Curvers and Stuart 1999, 23).

Excavations in BEY 157 also revealed two enclosure walls, one earlier than the other and both equipped with a tower (Curvers and Stuart 2006, 195–197). There is no evidence of a gate between the lower town and the acropolis, although one would be expected (Curvers and Stuart 1999, 23). To date no Hellenistic defences have been found on the western side of the city. Perring (1997–1998, 27) proposed that the western edge of the city lay with the area defined by the Souks excavation. The southern edge of the Hellenistic city appears to run along Rue Emir Bechir (Curvers and Stuart 1999, 24). A large wall was identified by Saghieh-Beidoun (2005, 160–162) to the south of a courtyard altar, and the excavator suggested that this might be a fortified temenos enclosure. Curvers and Stuart (2006, 206), however, suggest rather that this was part of the southern enclosure wall and that the Romans later inserted the Decumanus Maximus by demolishing the Hellenistic wall.

### 4.5.2 *Public Buildings and Religious Activity*

There is limited evidence of public buildings and Temples dating to the Hellenistic period, and there are several locations associated with Aphrodite or Astarte. There is some evidence that these two goddesses may have been equated with each other (Hall 2004, p. 130, n. 32). Large building foundations were found during the excavations in BEY 019 and 046, immediately to the west of the Ancient Tell (Curvers and Stuart 2006, 204). Lauffray (1944–1945, 22–23) also believed there was a public building or Temple in this area. A statue of Aphrodite was recovered from the topsoil in BEY 019 (Braakenburg-van Breukelen and Curvers 2000, 185), as was a dedication to Astarte dating to the second century BCE (Sader 1998, 172). In the same area, Lauffray (1944–1945, 22–23) recovered a colossal torso and a statue base. The most likely explanation is a Temple dedicated to Aphrodite-Astarte in this area of the lower town.

In the zone of the churches, namely BEY 004, 133, 142, and 151, there are three distinct areas with religious activity (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005). The earliest settlement activity in this area dates from the early third century BCE and is centred on a stream and spring (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 149). The spring sits within a natural cavern, and the deposits from it contain a few pottery sherds from fourth through third century BCE (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 149). A concentration of Astarte figures were recovered from an area adjacent to the spring, suggesting it may have been considered sacred (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 151). Saghieh-Beidoun (2005, 151) suggests that the stream may be linked either with the nymphaeum under the Aazarieh building just across Rue Emir Bechir from the site or with the possible Hellenistic Temple in BEY 151.

In the southern part of BEY 004 and BEY 151, a foundation of Hellenistic date was identified, with two rows of large ashlar blocks set in deep rock-

cut trenches (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 151). The size of the foundations indicates that this was an important public building or Temple (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 153). In the same area, an aedicule and sections of a Hellenistic decorated frieze were found (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 153–156). A large number of broken clay Astarte figurines were found thrown into pits in a neighbouring area and covered with waterworn stones (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 156), and the covering layer of crushed limestone and pottery sherds was dated to the first century CE, indicating that these votive objects were likely Hellenistic. A room to the west containing rounded ovens was found and identified as likely used for public functions (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 156). In conclusion Saghieh-Beidoun (2005) believes that this site was likely a Temple dedicated to Astarte.

To the east of the probable Temple, a stepped altar was found under the remains of the Roman Decumanus Maximus (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 159). The altar had a base of 2.5 by 1.8 m and stood 1.95 m high. A column was recovered from close to the base, and this may have stood on top of the altar. The altar was close to the site where it is thought a Roman Temple dedicated to Jupiter or Zeus was located (Lauffray 1977, Du Mesnil du Buisson 1921a, b). However, it is important to note that if the assertion is that the Hellenistic city walls ran down the location of Rue Emir Bechir, then the altar lay within the walls, while the later Jupiter Temple site lay outside. Hence, it is difficult to see how this altar could be associated with an earlier Hellenistic Temple on the site of the later Roman one. The height of the altar and its form does bear a resemblance to other tower altars in the region. More discussion of tower altars can be found in Chapter 9 (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 160).

There is some evidence of the existence of a Hellenistic gymnasium/baths complex on the site of the later Roman imperial baths in BEY 045 (Thorpe 1998–1999b, 65–68, 75). The construction style of this building involved a foundation of transverse ashlar blocks with longitudinal ashlar blocks for the upper courses and was used from the Hellenistic through the early Roman period (Thorpe 1998–1999b, 75). The limited ceramics evidence points to a Hellenistic date (Thorpe 1998–1999b, 68). The building contained heated basins or bathing pools and had plaster-lined walls and a rich charcoal deposit, most likely associated with a furnace (Thorpe 1998–1999b, 65–68).

### 4.5.3 *Domestic Buildings*

Domestic architecture has been identified in several different excavation zones across the Hellenistic city. In the Souks area, domestic architecture and small shops/workshops have been identified in a number of locations. In BEY 011, two streets were found to the west and east of the site (Steiner 2001–2002, 113–

127). The approximate seven metres that separated the streets was subdivided into rooms, with the earliest layers dating to the second through third century BCE (Steiner 2001–2002, 113–127). In another area of the Souks, BEY 006, that would later host the House of the Fountains, three buildings were identified as constructed during the Hellenistic period (Perring 2001–2002, 133–135, Perring et al. 1996, 189–191, Thorpe 2007, 17–21). In the mid-to-late third century BCE, the area was cut into terraces, a common element of Hellenistic towns (Thorpe 2007, 17). Around 180 BCE, building 3 was constructed, with two occupancy units and between the two a probable staircase to a second floor. The building has a design similar to houses found on Delos, with which Beirut is known to have close links (see section 4.5.4), yet the construction techniques followed local traditions (Thorpe 2007, 18). The building was rapidly developed, with dirt floors replaced with mortar ones and the insertion of a *pastas* courtyard by around 150 BCE, making the building conform more closely to Macedonian styles (Thorpe 2007, 19). Two additional buildings were added to the area during the Hellenistic period, following an orthogonal plan but an irregular one (Perring et al. 1996, 190). The site developed mainly during the period of Seleucid control after Antiochus III had gained control of the Levantine coast from the Ptolemies (Perring et al. 1996, 191). A destruction layer from BEY 006 included a large amount of pottery broken in situ, suggesting a "crisis" (Perring et al. 1996, 189) that could be linked to Tryphon, but there is no direct evidence.

In the northern part of Martyrs' Square, further Hellenistic houses have been identified (Aubert 2001–2002). The houses are organised along north–south and east–west axes but not on a full grid structure, similar to the pattern elsewhere in Beirut (Aubert 2001–2002, 79). In this area interior murals were sometimes preserved in situ. The style of design parallels examples from Amphipolis and from the House of the Comedians in Delos (Aubert 2001–2002, 78).

A 5 m by 5 m area of domestic occupation was also identified during the excavation of Saint George's Cathedral (Badre 2016, 74). Hellenistic artifacts were recovered, including a brazier with three large handles decorated with the head of Silenus.

### 4.5.4 *Trade and the Community at Delos*

In the second century BCE, there is epigraphic evidence attesting to the presence of Berytan citizens at various locations in the Aegean, including Delos, Rhodes, Athens, Tenos, and Kos (Arnaud 2001–2002, 175). Delos is clearly the most important of these, and the Berytan Poseidoniasts had their own *koïnon* (Arnaud 2001–2002, 176). Sixty-five named individuals are known from inscriptions, more than twice the number from other Phoenician cities (Arnaud 2001–

2002, 176). Delos was a free harbour from 166 BCE and a major centre of Greek trade. The dating of parts of the *koïnon* complex to 150 BCE suggests the presence of the Berytan community from at least some years previous and possibly prior to the granting of free-harbour status at Delos (Arnaud 2001–2002, 177). Berytan trade seems to have been strongly linked to Delos, and hence it is likely through Delos that trade connections were made with Rome, North Africa, and the western Mediterranean (Arnaud 2001–2002, 180). The ceramics found in second-century BCE contexts in Beirut show a considerable change, with a wider range of Hellenistic fine wares (Perring 2001–2002, 135, Reynolds 1999).

There is little Information available on trade and the Berytan diaspora in the first century BCE (Arnaud 2001–2002, 181). Berytus is likely to have remained an important trading port, and the grant of freedom to the city by Tigranes II in 80/81 BCE likely reflects this (Arnaud 2001–2002, 181). Nevertheless, it is likely that the political instability in the first-century-BCE Mediterranean, from the Italian Social War, the Mithridatic Wars, piracy in Cilicia, and the politics of the late Roman republic, led to a decline in trade in Beirut.

## 4.6 Conclusion: Pre-Roman Berytus

Settlement began at Beirut in the Early Bronze Age and was centred on a promontory overlooking a natural harbour to its west. This Ancient Tell site would then be continuously occupied down to the present day. The choice of site was based on the natural harbour and the ability to facilitate exchange with local farmers. During the Bronze Age, the settlements on the Ancient Tell grew slowly and were subject to a series of defensive structures. At the end of the Bronze Age or the beginning of the Iron Age, settlement began to spread beyond the tell with the construction of the lower town to the west of the tell and south of the harbour. The more affluent citizens buried their dead in rock-cut tombs to the west of the settlement on and beyond the second western promontory that defined the harbour, while the less affluent buried their dead in simple pit graves to the south and east of the lower town in areas otherwise associated with industrial activity. The Ancient Tell received a huge glacis defensive system early in the Iron Age but gradually declined in importance relative to the growth of the lower-town settlement and becoming a fortified citadel. The lower town became a sophisticated urban settlement with evidence of urban planning and waste-water management. During the Iron Age and into the Hellenistic period, Beirut was dominated by the city of Sidon. After the conquest of the Levantine coast by Antiochus III, Beirut gained independence and during the early second century BCE experienced rapid growth, with

the Hellenistic city expanding farther to the west in the Souks area of the city. New defences and public buildings were constructed, including several Temples, at least one of which was dedicated to Astarte. It was during this period that Berytan influence began to spread, with a diaspora of citizens becoming involved in trade relations across the Aegean, particularly at Delos. Tryphon may have razed the city as Strabo describes, and there is one destruction horizon that may correspond to this event. However, there is no evidence the city was abandoned after Tryphon's destruction, although during the first century BCE, regional political instability appears to have reduced trade activity. Beirut was already a large and vibrant city at the end of the Hellenistic period, yet as will be clear from Chapter 4, the Romans began to expand and aggrandise the city further with the foundation of the Colonia Julia Augusta Felix Berytus in 15 BCE.

CHAPTER 5

# Pre-Hellenistic and Hellenistic Baalbek and the Bekaa

## 5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a description of Baalbek and the Bekaa immediately prior to the Roman transformation of the city and surrounding landscape under colonial administration, the aim being to provide a baseline for further discussion.

The chapter also aims to provide answers to a series of critical research questions that are essential for understanding the later development of Baalbek-Heliopolis and the surrounding region. Three key questions about the early development of the city present themselves. The first question asks simply, When does occupation begin? The second asks, When does religious activity begin at the site? The final question focused on Baalbek asks, When was the sanctuary complex known as the "Hellenistic" Temple constructed and by whom? These questions are critical to our understanding of the nature and context of the Roman transformation of the Bekaa valley. We should note that the traditional view, as presented by Ragette (1980, 27–28), is one in which Baalbek-Heliopolis was a sanctuary site as early as the end of the second millennium BCE. This monograph argues strongly that there is no evidence to support such a conclusion. Furthermore, this work concludes that the development of the religious sanctuary at Baalbek-Heliopolis was dated no earlier than the beginning of the first century BCE and likely as late as the last quarter of the first century BCE.

Finally, the chapter also considers the broader regional context of the Bekaa valley in the pre-Roman period. The key questions posed here are: what was the extent and character of settlement in the Bekaa, and how does the sacred landscape defined by the Temple complex at Baalbek-Heliopolis and other sites associated with religion sit within the broader landscape?

One point needs to be clarified before proceeding further: what is meant by "pre-Roman" or "Hellenistic" in this context? This is less well defined than might be imagined, and as I will demonstrate later, the archaeological evidence does not reveal a clear date of division between Roman and Hellenistic activity. Several dates might be suggested. The invasion of Pompey in 64 BCE might seem to be an obvious choice. However, as noted in Chapter 3, the Ituraean principality

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became a client kingdom of Rome at this point, and the limited archaeological evidence does not suggest that any major changes occurred. This work will argue that the start of the Roman transformations of Baalbek-Heliopolis and the Bekaa can be dated to the period following the foundation of the colonia in 15 BCE. Hence, this chapter considers the region prior to 15 BCE.

The chapter is divided into four major sections. The first section provides a discussion of the names *Baalbek* and *Heliopolis*. The chapter then moves on to discuss the archaeological evidence for the development of the city of Baalbek-Heliopolis. This is placed into the context of the wider development of the Bekaa valley in the third section, while the final section provides a conclusion and interpretation of Baalbek-Heliopolis and the Bekaa in the Hellenistic period.

## 5.2 The Names Baalbek and Heliopolis

Before the discussion of the archaeological evidence, a brief note needs to be made on the names Baalbek and Heliopolis. The modern city is known as Baalbek or Baalbak, but this name is not attested historically before 411 CE (van Ess 2006b, 20). Note also that while the name Baalbek is associated with the city, the region to the north of the city is also known by this name.[1] *Baal* is the Semitic word for "lord"; thus the French archaeologist Ernest Renan suggested that Baalbek means simply "lord of the Bekaa."[2]

Nineteenth-century theories based on biblical names (Thomson 1859, 354, Buckley and Mackenzie 1852, 93) held that Baalbek should be identified with Baal-gad, the city upon which the Hebrew leader Joshua made war (Joshua, 11:15–19), or that Baalbek was one of the cities built by Solomon (1 Kings, 17–19). These ideas were based on the similarity of name and on the location described in Joshua as "in the Valley of Lebanon below Mount Hermon." However, such a location clearly references the southern Bekaa valley close to Mount Hermon and not Baalbek, which is in the northern Bekaa. Modern scholars have not adopted this biblical connection.

Unlike Beirut, Baalbek is not mentioned in the Amarna letters (Moran 1992) dating from c. 1350 BCE, and this is significant. Nor does Baalbek appear in the Assyrian tribute lists from the eleventh century BCE, although other Phoenician and Syrian cities do appear in the lists (Jidejian 1975). This same is also

1 The village of Ras Baalbek lies 34 km north of the city of Baalbek.
2 Baal is then a general name and does not refer to a specific deity.

true of tribute lists associated with the war between the Assyrian and Aramean kingdoms of northern Syria in the reign of Shalmaneser III from 858–824 BCE (Jidejian 1975, 18, Oppenheim 1969, 279). There are two possible conclusions to draw from this lack of evidence. Baalbek may represent a name that became associated with the city late in the Roman period, perhaps reflecting an old name for the deity worshipped there, Ragette (1980, 29) suggests that this deity was Baal-Haddad. The city was certainly known as Heliopolis during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and this is the name used by Josephus (*Antiquities* XIV.40). Baalbek may, therefore, have been known by a different name in earlier periods (van Ess 2006b, 20) and appear in contemporary documents under that name, although what this name might have been is unknown. Alternatively, however, Baalbek-Heliopolis simply may not have been important enough to warrant a mention in contemporary accounts.

## 5.3 Prehistoric and Hellenistic Baalbek

### 5.3.1 *When Does Occupation Begin at Baalbek?*

Evidence for the earliest occupation on the site of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus was found in four deep excavations within the main courtyard. The first of these excavations was conducted by Collart and Coupel in 1933 to examine the foundations of the Great Altar, demonstrating that the foundations for the altar had been cut deep through layers of earth and ashes (van Ess 2006a, 99–100). A second large trench of 18 m by 7 m was opened in the same area during the late 1950s and the early 1960s. This trench, which is now known as the "Deep Trench," remains open and has been reexamined by van Ess as part of the recent German-Lebanese mission (van Ess 2006a, 99–120). The Deep Trench lies immediately to the east of the Great Altar and in the former location of the early apse of the Christian Basilica (van Ess 2006a, 101). Van Ess suggests that the excavation was intended primarily to examine the foundations of the apse that were built using reused Roman architectural fragments. Only later did it became apparent to the excavators that they had cut through much earlier settlement activity. Joseph Hajjar, who excavated from 1961 to 1962, opened a trench on the north side of the small altar. Some rooms of simple houses were found, although none of these findings were recorded in detail. This was followed by the discovery of three Middle Bronze Age tombs beneath this level (Chéhab 1965, 111–112). From 1967 to 1968, Ibrahim Kaoukabani continued the previous work of Hajjar and conducted excavations in the area between the altar and the stairs leading up to the Temple, where stone foundations of houses dating to Middle Bronze Age were found. Some objects were recovered, among

them a fenestered ax and a Hyksos scarab. Unfortunately, none of these reports were published apart from a few scattered notes (Genz 2006, 127, Koaoukabani 1999, 237, Saidah 1969).

In addition to reexamining the Deep Trench, the 2001–2010 German-Lebanese mission has conducted additional work to classify and study the large amount of Middle Bronze Age pottery sherds from the original excavation (Genz 2006, 127–149). An inventory and classification of other boxes of pottery sherds was also carried out. Much of the evidence for earlier activity on the site presented here derives from this recent work rather than from previous excavations.

The Deep Trench clearly revealed that the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus is built on a prehistoric tell that was abandoned in the late Hellenistic period. The earliest evidence of settlement can be dated to the beginning of the Pottery Neolithic A period, or even the end of Pre-Pottery Neolithic B in the late eighth millennium BCE or early seventh millennium BCE (van Ess 2006b, 19). All periods from the Neolithic to the Iron Age have been identified in the tell, including the Chalcolithic and Early, Middle, and Late Bronze Age (van Ess 2006b, 19). By implication settlement was continuous from the Neolithic down to the late Hellenistic. The extent of the prehistoric settlement is difficult to judge, as it may have been truncated in the Roman period, although van Ess suggests that efforts were made to preserve the settlement site (van Ess 2006b, 22). The excavated area is surrounded by Roman structures and substructures on all sides (van Ess 2006b, 20). The prehistoric tell is located on a spur of bedrock with a deep depression lying between it and Sheikh Abdallah Hill. The waters from the springs in Baalbek would have originally run down this channel (Rheidt 2006, 223).

The excavation also produced the remains of two pre-Roman walls in the southern profile (van Ess 2006a, 106). However, it is very difficult to study the upper layers because of difficult soil conditions. Some parts of the section comprise many layers dating to the same archaeological period. Hence, finds from the cleaning of the section cannot provide us with accurate information.

In the 1960s, DGA excavations found a glacis and a neighbouring tower to the east of the Deep Trench (Rheidt 2006, 221), and by implication the tell was fortified at some point.[3] Other architectural remains which seem to date from the late Hellenistic or early Roman periods are simple houses built north of the

3 Of course, it is notable that, as was discussed in Chapter 4, the large Iron Age glacis was constructed at Berytus in the early first millennium BCE, so it should be no surprise that the tell was fortified.

small altar. All these findings do not suggest any kind of monumentalisation that charactarises the later Hellenistic or Roman periods.

Under the Seleucids coin evidence from the site is limited for the Hellenistic period. No civic coins were issued by Baalbek-Heliopolis, unlike a number of other Phoenician cities (Sawaya 2005, 147). Antiochus IV authorised coin production by Tripolis, Byblos, Berytus, Sidon, and Tyre (Sawaya 2005, 148). The number of Seleucid coins recovered from Baalbek during all excavations to date has been very small. For example, no small bronze coins from Antiochus III have been found despite the fact that excavations in Beirut have recovered great numbers of them (Sawaya 2005, 148). One Seleucid coin, a regal bronze of Antiochus VII found in Antioch and dated to the period 139/38–129 BCE, was recovered during the 2001–2010 German-Lebanese excavations (Sawaya 2005, 148). The German excavations, 1900–1904, recovered a small number of Seleucid coins, including bronzes of Antiochus IV, Alexander I Balas, Demetrius II, Antiochus VIII, and Antiochus VII or IX (Sawaya 2005, 149). Ituraean bronze coins have not been recovered from the excavations, although three were listed in the *Baalbek-Funde* of 1911, two from Ptolemy, son of Menneus, and one from Zenodorus (Sawaya 2005, 149). We should be cautious in reading too much into the lack of coin evidence from Baalbek, but it is surely odd that so few have been recovered from the Hellenistic period, given the supposed antiquity of the sanctuary.

Overall the archaeological evidence points to continuous settlement occupation of the site later used for the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus for some seven millennia, down to the construction of the "Hellenistic" Temple podium in the first century BCE. However, the archaeological evidence taken together with the historical evidence would suggest that Baalbek was a small settlement with no political significance until the late Hellenistic. As van Ess points out, Baalbek was not on the main routes and was probably under the political influence of larger settlements (van Ess 2006b, 20). The dating of the construction of the "Hellenistic" Temple podium is therefore crucial for understanding the importance of Baalbek, and this is the subject of the next two sections.

### 5.3.2 *When Does Religious Activity Begin?*

The conventional view, as presented by Ragette (1980, 27–39), is that Baalbek was a centre of religious activity from the late second millennium BCE that grew steadily in importance right through until its height in the second and third centuries CE. Ragette, who worked closely with Kalayan during the preparation of his book, refers to a rock-cut altar in a natural crevice around fifty metres deep in the rectangular courtyard to the south of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus. Ragette goes on to propose that since the crevice was inaccessi-

ble, and probably reserved for the priests, a larger altar was needed on the hill. Over time a courtyard was created, says Ragette, with a grand entrance formed by a flight of steps between two towers.

After the conquest of the region by Alexander the Great, the region fell under the control of the Ptolemies. This, suggests Ragette (1980, 28), led to the identification of Baal of Baalbek with their sun god and to the changing of the city name to Heliopolis. The local triad of Baal-Aliyan-Anat (also known as Baal-Aliyan-Astarte) was thus syncretically associated with the Greek triad of Zeus-Hermes-Aphrodite and hence the Roman triad of Jupiter-Mercury-Venus.[4] Ragette finally proposes that after the conquest of Coele-Syria by Antiochus III, a podium for a new Greek-style Temple was added to the rear of the courtyard. Ragette interestingly adds that "most of this podium had been built when Pompey, the Roman general, occupied Phoenicia and Baalbek in 64 BC," a point we will return to later.

The problem with Ragette's coherent picture of a developing religious centre is that there is precious little evidence to support it. Kalayan presumably thought that the glacis and tower found in the Great Courtyard were part of a much earlier courtyard and gateway. A glance at the hand-drawn artistic impressions of the courtyard by Ragette (1980, 28–29) would seem to confirm this. The presence of late Hellenistic and possibly even Roman-period houses to the north of the Great Altar suggests that the early courtyard, if present, was much narrower than the later Roman one. This also seems to be what Ragette has drawn in his illustrations. The likelihood must be that the courtyard was simply not present at this period. Unfortunately, Kalayan's own thinking on the site was never fully published save a few fragments in edited volumes and in more tourist-orientated documents, such as the programmes for the annual Baalbek International Festival. It is therefore impossible to know exactly what conclusions the original excavator had reached.

The German archaeologist Rheidt clearly does not agree with this traditional view. As noted earlier, he suggests that the glacis and tower are associated with the defence of the tell area (Rheidt 2006, 223). Margarete van Ess (2006b, 20) gives a more nuanced perspective, but ultimately her views concur with those of Rheidt. To both van Ess and Rheidt, the archaeological evidence available to them suggests that major change of function to a religious site came only in the late Hellenistic period and not much earlier, as suggested by Ragette and Kalayan, although both have opted for muted criticism of the traditional view.

4 This supposed triad is a subject I return to in Chapter 10, but it should be noted here that the existence of a religious triad is based on little evidence and a large degree of supposition.

Some further analysis of the historical evidence for the Ituraean period is required in the context of Baalbek-Heliopolis as a religious centre. The first point to note is that while both Strabo (XVI.2.10) and Josephus (*Antiquities* XIV.40) mention Heliopolis by name, both describe it as a city and make no mention of a religious centre. Again, caution is required in the interpretation of this omission, as the fact that there is no mention of a religious centre does not mean it was not there. We could argue that the name Heliopolis presupposes the existence of a religious sanctuary, as this was dedicated to Jupiter Heliopolitanus. However, as noted earlier, it is far from clear when the name Heliopolis came into use. Josephus's *Antiquities* was written long after the construction of the Roman sanctuary complex of Jupiter Heliopolitanus had started and indeed after the Temple building itself was complete. It is no great surprise then that he would use the name Heliopolis. Strabo's *Geography* is probably dated to the years 18–24 CE (Dueck 2000, 150), although there are arguments to suggest that Strabo may have begun his composition earlier, and he is believed to have used sources dated to the first century BCE. What should be clear is that the name Heliopolis used in later works does not automatically imply that at the time of Pompey's invasion in 64 BCE or earlier Baalbek-Heliopolis was a major religious centre.

In conclusion, Ragette's argument for an early religious centre is not matched by the wider set of archaeological and historical evidence. A large centre such as that proposed would probably have been associated with a larger community and may therefore have led to a mention in historical sources. The fact that no such mention of the city can be found suggests the opposite. While the ancient tell may have held religious significance, it is only at the very end of the Hellenistic or possibly in the early Roman period that this significance manifested itself.

The evidence for antiquity of religious practice at Baalbek is weak and only significant further excavation work will settle the debate. However, there has been an assumption of continuity of religious activity at Baalbek-Heliopolis, as can been seen in both Kalayan's and A.H.M. Jones's work. The very presence of a massive Roman sanctuary at Baalbek-Heliopolis has led to the implicit assumption by most scholars that there must have been a major religious site there previously. However, the lack of historical and archaeological evidence must lead to this assumption being challenged.

### 5.3.3 *When Was the "Hellenistic" Temple Constructed?*

Parts of the "Hellenistic" Temple complex are still visible in the Great Courtyard today. The podium of the Temple was reused and, as will be discussed in the next chapter, extended in the early Roman period using large stone blocks. The

outer columns of the Roman Temple were placed on the edges of the original podium. The blocks on this earlier structure are faced as if they were meant to be seen (von Gerkan 1937, 46). The pediment itself stands at a height of 14.3 m above the plain (van Ess 2006b, 22). The small altar could also date from the Hellenistic period or older according to the excavators, Collart and Coupel (1977, 99). Unfortunately, no direct dating evidence has been found for any of the supposed Hellenistic structures, and only a programme of further excavation work can provide it. However, recent work by Kropp and Lohmann (2011) has suggested both that the original podium had "wing walls" and that there was a link with the building programme of Herod the Great.

Irregularities in the otherwise precise construction can be found at the eastern end of the podium; 61.3 m from the western end of the podium, the regular finish of the stone block surfaces and drafted margins stop for the remainder of the podium (Kropp and Lohmann 2011, 40). The stretchers continue for another 9.75 m to the east before becoming significantly shorter in length. These two changes in the structure of the podium were noted by both Krencker (1934, 265–287) and von Gerkan (1937, 55–59), with Krencker initially arguing that these irregularities implied that the "Hellenistic" podium was not meant to be seen. Later following von Gerkan's (1937, 46) arguments that the podium stonework was intended to be seen, Krencker changed his mind and acknowledged that the first podium had wing walls in private communication with von Gerkan held in the archives of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (Kropp and Lohmann 2011, 40). Krencker died in 1941, before this work could be published.

The north elevation of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus and the proposed location of the wing walls, is located between the sixth and seventh columns of the Roman Temple. Hence, per this proposal, the "Hellenistic" podium was T-shaped. The extent of the wing walls is unknown, as they were removed entirely during the Roman period construction, although Kropp and Lohmann (2011, 42) believe that the later Roman podium probably reused the wing-wall foundations, and this would imply that the wing walls extended 10.9 m on either side of the central core. Further analysis of structures in the Great Court have allowed Lohmann (2014, 66) to identify an early courtyard surrounding the small altar and an associated propylon that was removed when the Temple was remodelled.

A key question is, does this proposal of wing walls make sense, or are there alternative explanations? The foundations of the wing walls have not been uncovered, and only a full excavation underneath the remaining trilithon Roman podium would definitively prove or disprove the existence of the wing walls. An alternative explanation for the change of finish on the eastern end

of the podium would be a simple change of plan, although such an interpretation would rely on the pattern of construction of the podium. Clearly this would assume that podium exterior walls were constructed to full height progressively from the western end of the podium. The design of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, as will be discussed in Chapter 9, was constantly revised throughout its construction phase, so a change of plan is entirely feasible.

If the "Hellenistic" podium was T-shaped, are there any parallels for this design elsewhere, and are there any implications for the design of the "Hellenistic" Temple itself? I have not been able to identify any parallels for a T-shaped podium either within the Roman Empire or outside it in the Near East, and so a T-shaped podium could be unique. Does a T-shaped podium imply that the Temple structure was also intended to be T-shaped? This is the obvious conclusion and one that Kropp and Lohmann (2011, 42–43) adopt. However, it also possible that the use of a T-shaped podium was simply intended to give the impression of a wider frontage. The Roman period Temple columns were sited on the edge of the "Hellenistic" podium, although if the widening of the podium had been completed, this would not have been the case.

Kropp and Lohmann (2011, 42–43) propose two possible parallels, the Temple of Baal-Shamin at Sīʾ and Herod's Temple of Jerusalem. The Temple of Baal-Shamin had towers flanking the front, and this would have given the "Hellenistic" Temple an appearance close to that of the finished Roman Propylon, with the wing-wall extensions supporting towers.[5] However, the Temple of Baal-Shamin had a rectangular rather than T-shaped plan, so a T-shaped podium is not required for this type of structure (Ward-Perkins 1981, 339–341). The Temple of Jerusalem had a T-shaped plan, although this is only known from the description of the Temple by Josephus (*BJ.* v.5.5). However, this building lay inside a rectangular inner court, which itself stood on the Temple Mount, which has an approximately trapezoidal shape. It is very clear, therefore, that a T-shaped Temple does not require a T-shaped podium.

The evidence for the T-shaped plan for the "Hellenistic" Temple is strong. The implications of this shape are not clear, and given the lack of parallels, it is impossible to conclude that this reflected Near Eastern religious practice in any way. Further research is required before any firm conclusions can be reached.

Kropp and Lohmann (2011) also highlight strong parallels between the masonry style used in the "Hellenistic" podium and that used in Herod's extension of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem. Both the Temple Mount extension and

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5 Much more discussion of the use of towers in Near Eastern Temple architecture can be found in Chapter 9.

FIGURE 11 Drafted-margin masonry in the walls of the Temple Mount
WAYNE MCLEAN, PHOTO TURNED INTO BLACK & WHITE, WIKIMEDIA COMMONS (CC BY 2.0), HTTPS://COMMONS.WIKIMEDIA.ORG/WIKI/FILE:WESTERN_WALL_JERUSALEM_NIGHT.JPG

the "Hellenistic" podium use drafted-margin masonry, as illustrated in Figure 11. The masonry is clearly very similar, and indeed the average course height is identical, at 1.11 m. These parallels led Kropp and Lohmann (2011) to conclude that Herod was involved in the construction of the "Hellenistic" podium and that he may have supplied the stonemasons for the project. Is this proposal realistic? I will challenge Kropp and Lohmann's conclusions in two ways; I will ask, firstly, if the drafted margin masonry is a distinctive signature of Herodian involvement and, secondly, whether direct Herodian involvement at Baalbek is likely.

There are a number of monuments believed to have been constructed by Herod the Great that display drafted-margin masonry, and Kropp and Lohmann refer to five examples: Hebron, Mamre, "David's Tower" in Jerusalem, the north wall at Caesarea, and the towers at Sebaste (Kropp and Lohmann 2011). The Hebron site is the "Tomb of the Patriarchs," which clearly shows drafted margin masonry, as seen in Figure 12. The course heights are similar to those at Baalbek and at the Temple Mount, with the lower courses 1.25 m in height and the upper 1.05 m in height. Scholars have concluded, partly based on the masonry style, that the Tomb of the Patriarchs was built by Herod and that it was the southernmost such monument. However, Josephus does not mention

FIGURE 12 The cave of the Patriarchs, Hebron, showing drafted-margin masonry
ANTOINE TAVENEAUX, WIKIMEDIA COMMONS, (CC BY 2.0), HTTPS://COMMONS.WIKIMEDIA.ORG/WIKI/FILE:CAVE_OF_THE_PATRIARCHS5.JPG

this monument, so there is no definitive evidence that it is attributed to Herod and not to one of his successors. Kropp and Lohmann use this monument to support their hypothesis that the Baalbek podium's is also Herodian, when in fact the conclusion that the Hebron site is Herodian is based largely on the same piece of evidence.

Unfortunately, the second piece of supporting evidence also suffers from the same problem. Mamre, a site 3 km north of Hebron, is also believed to be Herodian, but again this is based on the similarity between the masonry used there and that of the Temple Mount and Hebron (Netzer and Laureys-Chachy 2006, 231). There is no independent evidence to support the conclusion that Mamre is Herodian.

The third site, the Tower of David, part of Herod's palace in the citadel in Jerusalem, is described in Josephus (*BJ* v.163–175). Hence this site is known to be Herodian, and it possesses drafted-margin masonry, although the finish is much cruder than either the Temple Mount or the podium at Baalbek, and this is illustrated in Figure 13. The Tower of David was built earlier in Herod's reign, in about 37–34 BCE and as such predates the Temple Mount by at least thirteen years.

The city walls of Sebaste are again described by Josephus (*BJ* I.21.1), so there is no doubt that the walls and towers were constructed by Herod (Roller 1998, 211). The round towers of the western gate have drafted-margin masonry, and as such provide another link between this technique and the building programme of Herod (Netzer and Laureys-Chachy 2006, 85). Josephus does not describe the north wall at Caesarea, and hence its identification as Herodian relies on other evidence. In fact there has been considerable debate about the dating of the north wall (Patrich 2011, 15 note 44), although this has now been resolved archaeologically, in part relying on the use of drafted-margin masonry (Raban et al. 1992).

In summary, there are several sites that have been definitively identified as Herodian and that have drafted-margin masonry. There are questions about whether all these sites can be used to support a hypothesis that the "Hellenistic" podium is Herodian when they have been identified as Herodian themselves based on the use of drafted-margin masonry. However, drafted-margin masonry is clearly a "hallmark" of Herodian construction. Furthermore, there are close, detailed parallels with the construction of the Temple in Jerusalem (Kropp and Lohmann 2011). Indeed Kropp (2013, 278) argues that the parallels are so close that the same group of masons may have been used on both projects.

An alternative possibility is that the use of drafted-margin masonry in the walls of the podium reflects a direct stylistic transfer from Augustan Rome. The

FIGURE 13 Drafted-margin masonry on the wall of the Tower of David
RICARDO TULIO GANDELMAN, WIKIMEDIA COMMONS (CC BY 2.0), HTTPS://COMMONS.WIKIMEDIA.ORG/WIKI/FILE:P1110022_(5883627043).JPG

Temple of Mars Ultor in the forum of Augustus is one example of an Augustan monument with drafted-margin masonry (Kropp and Lohmann 2011, 45).[6] If the drafted-margin masonry was inspired directly by Roman buildings, the date of construction of the podium cannot be earlier than the last quarter of the first century BCE.

The second question to be posed about the Herodian theory for the construction of the "Hellenistic" podium is whether it is credible that Herod would have been engaged in a major building project outside the borders of his kingdom. The answer to this question is very clearly yes, as there several significant precedents for this. Herod was responsible for a number of building projects outside his kingdom (Roller 1998, 214–238), including sites in Athens and Rome. More significantly Herod constructed buildings in major cities in and around Baalbek-Heliopolis. In Antioch, Herod provided a paved street with a stoa (Josephus, *BJ* 1.21.11), while at Byblos, Herod provided city walls (Josephus, *BJ* 1.21.11). In Damascus, Herod provided a theatre and a gymnasium (Josephus, *BJ* 1.21.11). More significantly, according to the same passage in Josephus, Herod provided exedras, stoas, Temples, and agoras to Berytus and Tyre. As such, Roller (1998, 220–222) suggests that Herod was largely responsible for the regeneration of the city and new colony. It would therefore be entirely reasonable to suggest that Herod was also responsible for buildings at Heliopolis. Indeed, if Josephus was referring to the colonia of Berytus rather than the city, the podium of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus may be included in Josephus's list as part of the colony of Berytus.

While Herodian euergetism is understandable in the context of the colonia, would it be conceivable prior to its foundation in 15 BCE? Kropp (2013, 278) argues that Herod would not have offered support while Heliopolis was under Ituraean control and made no benefactions to territories controlled by other client kings. Hence the presence of Herodian architecture at Heliopolis is only consistent with a construction date after 24 BCE and the removal of Zenodorus.[7]

Note that while there is no direct evidence linking Herod to Heliopolis, his grandson or great grandson received a dedication, as is described in Chapter 10. Overall, it would seem highly likely that Herod was involved in the construction

6 I will discuss further parallels with the Forum of Augustus in Rome in Chapter 9.

7 The large-scale redevelopment of Heliopolis under Herod the Great is certainly a possible explanation for the early phase of development. It should be noted in this context that Herod also rebuilt Samaria between 30 BCE and 20 BCE, renaming the city Sebaste in honour of Augustus. One of the centrepieces of the city was the Temple of Rome and Augustus, which will be discussed in Chapter 9.

of the first podium at Heliopolis. This places construction either in a hypothetical period of Herodian control of Heliopolis between 24 and 15 BCE or under direct Roman control after 24 BCE, perhaps in advance of the formal foundation of the colony.

There are three other sources of evidence to examine here: the settlement and associated reconstruction of the city, the orientation of the Temple and potential links with other buildings at Baalbek, and finally the historical context.

The construction of a "Hellenistic" sanctuary on the top of the Ancient Tell implies that the main area of settlement was either moved in preparation for the construction of the Temple or had already moved away from the site of the tell. Some evidence for the move of the city is provided by the construction of an aqueduct entering Baalbek from the northeast. Furthermore, a pressure pipe was used to provide water to the sanctuary itself. Such pressure pipes were common in the Hellenistic period, and one was found at Pergamum (Rheidt 2006, 224). The water was later used to provide water to the large basins in the Roman great courtyard and would have provided water to the earlier sanctuary (Rheidt 2006, 224). The pipe probably also fed water to a new settlement built just below Ain Juj (Rheidt 2006, 225). The very fact that the city was substantially rebuilt to make way for the Temple is strongly suggestive of a large-scale plan for the redevelopment of the city.

The second piece of evidence comes from the relationship of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus with other buildings in Baalbek. Rheidt has shown that the axis of the Temple is aligned with the point at which the Hellenistic water pipe enters the city, Ain Juj, an orientation he describes as "emphatic" (Rheidt 2006, 224). Visual inspection of the horizon from the top of the Great Altar shows the axis also aligns with a notch in the range of hills to the east. It is also quite clear that the orientation of the Temple is slightly to the north of east rather than directly east. At Ain Juj the remains of a small round building have been found with architectural details suggesting a date in the last quarter of the first century BCE (Wienholz 2006, 273). A votive altar to Jupiter was found there in the early twentieth century (Wiegand, Schulz, and Winnefeld 1921, 26–33, Seyrig 1929, 314–356, Rheidt 2004, 253–262). Boundary marks and an inscription from what could have been a Temple dedicated to Venus were published by Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais (1967, 174–175). Two statues of a seated goddess with two sphinxes, one on either side, were recovered from the vicinity of Baalbek (Felix 2006, 255). According to Weigand one was recovered in 1865 from the courtyard of a house in the Haret Beit-Suit quarter of Baalbek, close to the potential Temple location at Ain Juj (Wiegand, Schulz, and Winnefeld 1921, 26, 46). The two statues have been identified by Sandra Felix as representing

Astarte or Venus Heliopolitan (Felix 2006, 269). Unfortunately, the inscription and boundary marks have subsequently been lost, and as Sandra Felix points out, there is no definitive link between the statues and the site at Ain Juj. One other report suggests the "1865" statue was discovered in the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus itself. However, in my view, on the balance of probabilities, the round building at Ain Juj was likely to have been a Temple dedicated to Venus or possibly Astarte.

The question to pose about this relationship between the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus and the round building at Ain Juj is, What does it imply about the dating of both structures? The first point to make clear is that the "Hellenistic" Temple and the later Roman Temple share the same axis. A number of architectural fragments have been recovered from the round building at Ain Juj and are currently in Berlin. These have been dated on architectural grounds to the last quarter of the first century BCE. Of course it is not necessary to assume that the link in orientation implies that there is a link in date. It is perfectly possible that the round building was inserted later and deliberately placed on the axis of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus to establish a link between the two buildings or indeed that the alignment between the buildings is accidental. The precise location of the round building has been lost, so it is not possible to assess how accurately the buildings were aligned (Wienholz 2006, 2). However, the presence of the water pipe at the same location and the evidence for new settlement noted above hints that the "Hellenistic" Temple and the round building may have formed part of a scheme of development, implying that it was relatively late in date.

The Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus is also linked with the so-called Temple of the Muses in the Santa Barbara area just in front of the entrance to the Temple itself. This building, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 9, is thought to be dedicated to Tyche (van Ess 2006b, 20). There are structural similarities between this Temple and features found under the floor of the courtyard of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, although stylistically this building is closer to precedents from the Western Roman Empire. The suggested date for this building is just before the construction of the Roman Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus (van Ess 2006b, 21). This evidence of continuity between the late Hellenistic and early Roman period again suggests a late date for the "Hellenistic" podium.

To conclude the discussion on the archaeological evidence for the date of the "Hellenistic" Temple, it is worth noting that no architectural remnants from the actual Temple structure have ever been recovered, and only the "Hellenistic" podium remains. As will be discussed in detail in Chapter 9, the foundations for the Roman extension to the podium contained broken column drums that were

reused from the Temple building construction. However, no spolia fragments from an earlier Temple have ever been found in these layers. Again, absence of evidence is not evidence of the absence of an earlier Temple on the "Hellenistic" podium, but it is surely strange that nothing has ever been found. We have no evidence, therefore, that the structure was ever completed.[8] Kropp (2009, 376) also suggests that the Temple may never have been built. He points to the structure of the podium as evidence that the original design was similar to that suggested by von Gerkan (1937, 55–59) with a cella wall close to the edge of the podium and either an open-roofed design or supports on the exterior of the cella.

Overall the archaeological and architectural evidence does not provide a definitive date for the construction of the "Hellenistic" Temple podium. An early date, such as under the Seleucid kings, does not seem plausible. I would suggest that there are only three possibilities: that the "Hellenistic" podium was built by the Ituraean tetrarchs, that it was built by Herod the Great while he was in control of the Bekaa valley after the removal of Zenodorus, or that it was built by the Romans, probably using Herodian masons, either during the civil war under Antony or around the time of the establishment of the colonia in 15 BCE.

The Ituraeans may have built the Temple and remodelled the city as testament to their growing power in the region in the early first century BCE. After the conquest by Pompey in 64 BCE, the Ituraean tetrarchs remained in control of their territory as clients of Rome, and so it is possible that the construction can be attributed to them, although if, as seems likely, the "Hellenistic" podium is of Herodian construction, this seems improbable.

The podium may have been constructed by Herod the Great using the same masons as used at the Temple in Jerusalem. This could either have been under a hypothetical period in which the Bekaa was under direct Herodian control, or it could have been an act of euergetism associated with the foundation of the colony in 15 BCE. The foundation date of the colonia of Berytus and Heliopolis is very close to the projected construction date. If Millar (2006, 170) is correct in asserting that veteran settlement began before the formal foundation of the colonia, as was the case at the colonia at Patras, then the date of construction is even closer to the arrival of Roman settlers. On current evidence this seems the most likely possibility.

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8 It may be that Ragette's statement that "*most* of this podium had been built when Pompey, the Roman general, occupied Phoenicia and Baalbek in 64 BC" was intended to suggest this possibility.

The Temple podium may simply be a Roman construction. Antony and Cleopatra were in direct control of the Bekaa for a short period prior to the battle of Actium in 31 BCE, and so construction may have begun in the civil-war period. It is also worth noting that Antony used Ituraean archers in his bodyguard (Cicero *Philippics* 11.44.12). Alternatively, the podium may have been constructed after the foundation of the colony by Roman masons. However, given the similarity between the podium and the Temple in Jerusalem, Herodian involvement seems to be indicated.

The planned Temple was later altered and enlarged after construction had already begun. When and why this occurred is not clear, but it seems unlikely the "Hellenistic" Temple was ever completed.

## 5.4 The Prehistoric and Hellenistic Bekaa and Ituraean Territories

### 5.4.1 *Settlement*

To understand the development of the later religious landscape of the region, it is important to consider briefly the settlement of the Bekaa and neighbouring Ituraean territories. It is important to understand the limits of current knowledge but also to challenge some ideas, such as those of the military historian Grainger.

Knowledge of settlement patterns in the Bekaa has been limited by the lack of systematic modern archaeological survey, such as has been commonplace in other areas of the Mediterranean. Surface survey would transform our understanding of the Bekaa throughout all periods. However, the civil war prevented any such activity, and even the recent work of the German-Lebanese mission has been prevented from engaging in survey work in recent years due to the political situation in Lebanon.

The main source of information about settlement patterns in the Bekaa is Marfoe (1998), which, although recently published, is based on much earlier survey work and archaeological excavation at Kamid el-Loz. Marfoe's work is focused primarily on the Bronze Age, with very limited information presented on the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Nevertheless, Marfoe did produce a population curve showing several population peaks in the Bronze Age, followed by a slow decline in the early Iron Age. The population starts to increase in the late Hellenistic period and then rises rapidly in the Roman period. However, given the limited landscape survey in the Bekaa, we should treat this result with caution.

Grainger (1991) has argued on historical grounds that the Bekaa in the early Hellenistic period was a kind of no-man's land, with limited settlement north of

the Ptolemaic defensive line at Gerrha and Brochi. He suggests that the northern Bekaa was mostly empty of occupation before 200 BCE (Grainger 1991, 113) based on evidence such as the lack of Hellenistic pottery before 200 BCE at the Iron Age site of Hamath. However, as we have seen earlier, there is no evidence for a break in occupation at Baalbek in the early Hellenistic. Grainger presupposes that the reason for the failure of Antiochus III to capture the southern Bekaa was precisely this limited rural settlement and hence lack of supplies available to Antiochus's army. It is only the increasing settlement of the northern Bekaa (as represented by evidence such as the altar to Ptolemy IV and his sister-wife Arsinoe in Lido set up by Marsyas, a chief scribe) that presents the opportunity for conquest (Grainger 1991, 96–97). The problem with Grainger's model is that it is based on a purely military interpretation of the evidence, with the northern Bekaa valley acting as a kind of buffer zone between the Seleucids and Ptolemies. The evidence for this buffer is weak.

The evidence for specifically Ituraean settlement in the Bekaa or elsewhere is limited, with van Ess and colleagues viewing them as rather elusive. Two locations, the Nahr Ibrahim valley, north of Beirut, and Mount Hermon in the Golan, have provided potential evidence of specifically Ituraean settlement.

An archaeological survey in the valley of Nahr Ibrahim, a valley running down to the Mediterranean coast to the south of the city of Byblos, was undertaken by Yanouh in 1999 (Gatier et al. 2004). The preliminary report shows many settlement sites located at the south and the west of the valley between Machnaka and Qartaba, some with the remains of natural fortifications. The continued occupation of Hellenistic settlements was carefully assessed by the close examination of pottery sherds. Those sites that were Hellenistic showed evidence of continuous settlement until the first century CE. This was then followed by a period of disruption. The only remains of ceramics associated with the first century were found in tombs, which continued in use until the second and third centuries CE. It is probable that the abandonment of these sites during the first century was due to the Roman exploitation of the valley followed by their annexation of Ituraean and Herodian territory.

Shimon Dar identified a series of settlements in the vicinity of Mount Hermon that he claimed were Ituraean, complete with a distinctive form of pottery (Dar 1993, iii). Mount Hermon lies at the southern end of the Anti-Lebanon mountain range, although a region of lower hills separates it from them where the river Baranda passes through (Dar 1993, 3). Settlement of Mount Hermon is very ancient and dates back to the Chalcolithic (Dar 1993, 11), and settlement activity is also present throughout the Bronze Age (Dar 1993, 11). Many statues of a bearded man and of a woman with braided hair have been recovered from both Mount Lebanon and Mount Hermon. These statues have been iden-

tified as representations of the local deities Baal-Hermon and Astarte (Dar 1993, 13–14). Ephal (1982, 67, 100–101, 238–239, 337) suggests that the Ituraeans were present at Mount Hermon as early as the ninth century BCE, with the Mount Hermon ridges settled by the fourth century BCE (Dar 1993, 15). Ptolemaic and Seleucid coins of the third and second centuries BCE have been recovered from settlement sites (Dar 1993, 17). The Ma'ayan Baruch Museum contains some Safaitic inscriptions that were found in the foothills of Mount Hermon and date either to the Hellenistic or Roman periods. Dar (1993, 17) argues that the presence of Safaitic also suggests the presence of the Ituraeans, but as was noted in Chapter 3, these need not be linked to the Ituraeans. The problem with Dar's work is that the identification of the settlement sites on Mount Hermon as Ituraean is based on historical evidence (Myers 2010, 81–82). There is nothing in the archaeological record to identify the settlements as Ituraean.

Michael Sommer provides a potential explanation for Ituraean settlement patterns (Sommer 2013, 73). He believes that Strabo's description of the Ituraeans suggests they were practising enclosed nomadism and transhumance between the mountains and the plains. Two groups were present in the Bekaa valley, both Ituraean, with one group settled as agriculturalists and one following seasonal pastoralism. The tension between the seasonal nomads and settled agriculturalists may explain the label of "bandits" given by Strabo (*Geography* XVI.2.18). Later, under Roman rule, the agriculturalists would have benefitted at the expense of the pastoralists (Sommer 2013, 74).

Why have Ituraean settlements been so difficult to identify? There is no reason to doubt Josephus's historical accounts of the extent of Ituraean control in first century BCE, so the explanation must be sought elsewhere. As noted above the identification of settlements on Mount Hermon as Ituraean is problematic, and so one explanation for the lack of a similar material culture in the Bekaa is that in fact the settlements on Mount Hermon were simply not Ituraean. The most likely explanation is that in the core of Ituraean territory, there simply was not a distinctive material culture.

### 5.4.2 *Religion*

There is very little evidence for Hellenistic religious activity at locations in the Bekaa or other Ituraean territories other than at Baalbek-Heliopolis. There are several other significant Temple sites in the region, such as those at Niha, Hosn Niha, Sfire, Qalaat Faqra, and Majdal Anjar, all developed during the Roman period, of which Niha and Hosn Niha will be discussed in detail in Chapter 8. In general the dating evidence for these sites is rather poor and some, like the one at Majdal Anjar, may have been located on top of earlier Ituraean structures (Steinsapir 2005, 80). As Steinsapir (2005, 85–87) makes clear, all of

these Temple locations share a number of similar natural features, such as high prominent locations and the presence of water. This suggests to her that they may have been associated with religious activity before Temple buildings were constructed, although as will be demonstrated in my detailed analysis of these sites in later chapters, there is no evidence of this.

Mount Hermon also has several cult sites associated with it. Dar suggests that the summit of Mount Hermon was sanctified by the Late Bronze Age and possibly earlier (Dar 1993, 14). The lower Temple at Har Senaim contained a relief of Helios and can be connected to a similar one found at Btad-El in Lebanon that has been associated with Jupiter Heliopolitanus (Dar 1993, 64, Rey-Coquais 1967, 184–185). Again, however, this Temple was not constructed until the Roman period, and the identification of these sites as Ituraean has already been demonstrated to be problematic.

## 5.5 Conclusion and Interpretation

The Ituraean tetrarchs were in control of much of the area covered by modern Lebanon in 64 BCE, when Pompey invaded. The invasion seems to have done little to interfere with Ituraean concerns, and they smoothly transferred to a client-kingdom-style relationship with Rome; indeed it may be this that allowed them to fully express their regional power. Aside from the brief period of Roman control under Mark Antony, it is only with the removal of Zenodorus in 24 BCE and the division of the Ituraean principality that Rome became directly involved with Baalbek-Heliopolis and the Bekaa.

The transformation of Baalbek-Heliopolis was quite sudden and probably took place in the last quarter of the first century BCE. This transformation had a profound effect on the city. The Ancient Tell, the site of eight thousand years of continuous settlement, was set aside as a purely religious site, with settlement moved to the east of the tell on the slopes of Sheikh Abdallah Hill. A high platform was carefully raised around 14 m above the plains to create a site of prominence to hold a Temple of nonclassical design. A small courtyard was probably created in front of the Temple to hold a tower altar. This Temple complex was designed as part of a scheme of Temples, including, probably, a Temple dedicated to Venus constructed on the site where water entered the new residential district.

The Ituraeans may or may not have been responsible for the redevelopment of Baalbek-Heliopolis. If they were then it likely formed the religious centre of the new Ituraean principality whose political centre was constructed at Chalcis in the southern Bekaa. The Ituraean rulers of this principality were both

political and religious leaders, holding the title of high priest. The nature of the deity worshipped in this new Temple is unclear, but if we assume some form of continuity between the Hellenistic and Roman periods, then this deity would have been Zeus Heliopolitan. Zeus is certainly a prominent figure on the coins of the Ituraean tetrarchs (Kropp 2013, 233). The adoption of a solar deity would have been natural for a people who were now sedentary in a region of very significant agricultural wealth. The sun would have been seen as being responsible for the fertility of the Bekaa valley. Furthermore, Baalbek is also strongly associated with water, as it is situated at the origin of both the Litany and Orontes Rivers. Pools of water were present in the great forecourt of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, and there is a strong possibility of a link between the "Hellenistic" period Temple and a Temple of Venus at Ain Juj, itself associated with water. The deity could, therefore, be seen in a more general agricultural context. The Roman pantheon separated fertility and sun deities, with Cybele representing fertility and Sol Invictus being the primary sun god in later Roman religion, although other Roman deities, such as Jupiter and Apollo, also had solar aspects. This separation is not necessary in the context of an initial Ituraean development of Baalbek. The Ituraeans may have been of Arab origin, and the cult of sun was extremely old and prominent among Arab peoples (Borg 2001, 185–186).

Why have historians and archaeologists paid little attention to the Ituraeans previously? There are several possible explanations for this. Many historians and archaeologists have taken Strabo's description of the Ituraeans as "bandits" at face value and consequently have chosen to ignore the significance demonstrated in Josephus's *Antiquities of the Jews*. A second possible explanation is that relative to the neighbouring Hasmonean and Nabatean kingdoms, the Ituraeans were subsumed by Roman administration at a relatively early date. Finally, we should also consider that the Roman period developments at Baalbek are so massive in scale they dwarf the earlier development on the same site.

It is useful to invoke the idea of social memory in the context of Hellenistic Baalbek. We ask what was *remembered* and what was *forgotten* in the construction of the "Hellenistic" Temples. While there is doubt on the extent of continuity of religious practice on the site of the Ancient Tell, memory plays a role here in two distinct ways. Firstly, the memory and antiquity of the site must have been an element in the transformation. The Ancient Tell is remembered through the construction of the Temple. Van Ess asserts that the Temple was carefully constructed to avoid disturbing the tell as much as possible thus deliberately preserving it (van Ess 2006b, 22). Nevertheless, elements of the ancient site were forgotten through the construction process. Eight thousand

years of human settlement were ended at this time and replaced by a religious structure and religious ritual. The profane activities of daily life were forgotten and memorialised in the sacred. Secondly, the redevelopment of Baalbek-Heliopolis as a religious centre must have involved, to a degree, the construction of memory. Today the sheer scale of the Roman Temple complex has led to an assumption of continuity of religious activity into the distant past, even though the archaeological and historical evidence does not provide any direct support for this. I would suggest that creation of memory was also likely an element in the past. The Temple, even the smaller scale "Hellenistic" podium, would have dominated the local surroundings. The Temple played a role of creating a memory of ancient religious practice, even if only domestic activity took place on the site. This creation of religious memory is a feature of the late first and early second century in the Augustan cultural revolution (Orlin 2007, 73–92).

Baalbek-Heliopolis was transformed in the late Hellenistic period, with a new monumentality expressed in the Temple structures. This religious transformation was almost certainly incomplete when Augustus reorganised the region in 15 BCE with the creation of the Roman colonia of Berytus and the settlement of veterans. This led immediately to the next transformation of the landscape of Baalbek-Heliopolis and the Bekaa, one that, as we shall explore in Chapter 9, took monumental Temple architecture to a new level.

CHAPTER 6

# Roman Berytus

## 6.1 Introduction

The city of Berytus is clearly central to understanding the development of Colonia Iulia Augusta Felix Berytus. Prior to the postwar excavation programme, little was known about the Roman city beyond the work of Du Mesnil du Buisson and Lauffray in the early twentieth century. However, the recent BCD Infrastructure Archaeology Project has provided a huge amount of information on Berytus in Roman times. The first aim of this chapter, therefore, is to provide a synthesis of the recent archaeological research and present a picture of the city and its development from 15 BCE to the fourth century and in doing so address objective eight. The chapter considers the extent of continuity and change with the advent of the Roman colony and places this within the regional context. This is critical input to understanding to what extent Strabo (XVI.2.19) was correct in asserting that the Romans "restored" Berytus. Religious practice in the city is explored, to the extent possible, to partially address objective nine. Overall this chapter provides considerable input to an assessment of the extent to which the colonial foundation was an intrusive element in the Near East.

The chapter is organised as follows. Section 6.2 discusses the main streets, the Cardo Maximus and the Decumanus Maximus, which provide the basic structure of any Roman city. Public buildings and religious architecture are the subjects of section 6.3, including the forum, the Temples, the theatre and hippodrome, the bathhouses, the water engineering, the law school, and the city walls and gates. Section 6.4 discusses domestic architecture across the Roman city and its relationship to earlier Hellenistic architecture. Commercial activity and the Roman port are discussed in section 6.5. Funerary practice then concludes the description of the archaeology in section 6.6. Section 6.7 then provides a conclusion.

## 6.2 The Cardo Maximus and Colonnaded Decumani

The Cardo Maximus provided the main north–south route in all Roman cities, while the Decumanus the main east–west route (Segal 1997, 5 n. 1). The crossing point of the two roads lay at the centre of the city and normally close to the main public buildings. Often these two streets would be monumentalised.

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Hence identifying these two streets is important to define the overall structure of the city and to assist in location of major public buildings. The extent of monumentalisation provides input into an assessment of the status of the city.

In Berytus, the Cardo Maximus lay to the immediate west of Place de l'Étoile (Curvers and Stuart 2006, 200). To the north it crossed Rue Weygand and then ran toward the harbour to the west of Rue Foch and approximately parallel to it. To the south it crossed Rue Emir Bechir and ran under the site of the Aazarieh building, to the east of Rue Syria. The Cardo Maximus changed orientation at the forum, approximately the location of Place de l'Étoile. The Roman street was observed in multiple excavations from the BCD Infrastructure Archaeology Project, being seen in sites BEY 004, 012, 031, 087, 089, 119, 126, and 127, as well as in the excavation of Saint George's Cathedral (Badre 2016, 74). In addition its location was observed in previous excavations, including those on the site of the Aazarieh building (Lauffray 1944–1945, Saghieh-Beidoun 2005). The Cardo Maximus ran to the east of the forum, imperial baths and public buildings to the immediate south of the forum, and hence it acted to join the monumental centre of the city with the harbour. BEY 004 provided the best opportunity to study the road, as a length of 110 m was exposed (Saghieh-Beidoun et al. 1998–1999, 95). The road surface had a width of 12.6 m in the south and 14 m in the north (Saghieh-Beidoun et al. 1998–1999, 97). The road was bounded on both sides by a 1.3 m wide *stylobate* that was formed of three rows of limestone blocks (Saghieh-Beidoun et al. 1998–1999, 97). The columns of the colonnade were placed at 2.5 m intervals and were supported on moulded stone pedestals 1 m square and 0.6 m high (Saghieh-Beidoun et al. 1998–1999). The columns themselves were made of red granite and imported from Aswan in Egypt (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 163). The rear walls of the portico of the Cardo Maximus were both separated from the *stylobates* by 5.5 m (Saghieh-Beidoun et al. 1998–1999, 105). The columns themselves had Corinthian capitals and supported architraves (Saghieh-Beidoun et al. 1998–1999, 111). The total height of the colonnade of the Cardo Maximus was 7.6 m, including the stylobate, pedestal, column shaft, capital, and architrave (Saghieh-Beidoun et al. 1998–1999, 114). Two mosaics of different periods were found in the southwestern portico (Saghieh-Beidoun et al. 1998–1999, 105, 107–108).

Following the BCD Infrastructure Archaeology Project, it is clear that Berytus had two colonnaded *decumani*, one running along the present day Rue Weygand and one running immediately north of Rue Emir Bechir (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 162, Perring 1997–1998, 21). Prior to the BCD excavations, there was considerable debate about which of these two roads was the Decumanus

Maximus. Du Mesnil du Buisson (1926a, 202) believed that the Decumanus Maximus ran close to the route of Rue Emir Bechir (then called Rue des Martyrs and Rue du Serail). Lauffray (1944–1945, 21–26) took the opposing view that Rue Weygand was the Decumanus Maximus. Lauffray based his opinion partly on the work of Mouterde (1942–1943, 23–33), who believed he had identified the location of the monumental centre of Roman Berytus close to the junction of Rue Weygand and Rue Foch. In 1907 Mouterde (1942–1943, 30) observed three large limestone columns in an excavation just to the north of the mosque at Bab es-Seraya. Furthermore, he pointed to the discovery of the inscription dedicated to Liber Pater honouring Vespasian for the refurbishment of shops being found in the same area (Mouterde 1942–1943, 29–30). Mouterde (1942–1943, 28–29) also noted the coins of Elagabalus that display the statue of Marsyas in the forum and a statue base dedicated to the *genius* of the colony also found close to the junction of Rue Foch and Rue Weygand. He concluded that the Roman forum must be located in the same area. Lauffray (1944–1945, Fig. 17) also excavated the area to the immediate north of Rue Emir Bechir and west of the Cardo Maximus in the interwar period. He found the northern colonnade but was unable to identify the southern colonnade/stylobate and thus concluded that this decumanus was not colonnaded.

The BCD Infrastructure Archaeology Project has now demonstrated that the Decumanus Maximus lies just to the north of Rue Emir Bechir, with the remains of the street visible in BEY 004 (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, Saghieh-Beidoun et al. 1998–1999), 142, 148, and 151 (Curvers 2013c, Curvers and Stuart 2006), while earlier excavations by the DGA provided evidence of the crossing of the Cardo Maximus and Decumanus Maximus (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 165–167). Excavations in BEY 148, which were in the same location as those of Lauffray, showed that the southern stylobate/colonnade had been disturbed by the construction of the medieval defensive wall (Curvers and Stuart 2006, 207).

The Decumanus Maximus was of similar dimensions to the Cardo Maximus, with the 5.5 m shaded walkways and stylobates of approximately 1.8 m in width (Curvers 2013c, 7, Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 163). The colonnades were formed using gray granite columns imported from Aswan, thus providing a colour contrast with the red granite columns of the Cardo Maximus (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005). Mosaic pavements were provided in the walkways (Curvers 2013c, 7), as well as imitation marble paintings (Eristov 2005). A fountain with a rectangular basin was also provided in the walkway, possibly with a spout in the form of a theatre mask (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 163).

The Cardo Maximus and Decumanus Maximus probably met at a *tetrakionion* (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 165). Originally the DGA proposed a *tetrapylon*, based on the presence of three columns in situ on a podium at the junction of

FIGURE 14 The tetrakionion at Palmyra
BERNARD GAGNON, WIKIMEDIA COMMONS (CC BY-SA 3.0), HTTPS://COMMONS.WIKIMEDIA.ORG/WIKI/FILE:PALMYRA_T%C3%A9TRAPYLON_02.JPG

the two streets. Saghieh-Beidoun (2005, 165) proposes that a *tetrakionion* better fits the extant remains, which would form one of the freestanding corner structures. A *tetrakionion* may have also better fit the location, as the direction of the Decumanus Maximus changes at this point (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 167). A *tetrakionion* was also used in similar circumstances in Palmyra (Watkin 2005, 85). The *tetrakionion* at Palmyra would have been similar, and this is illustrated in Figure 14.

The Cardo Maximus and Decumanus Maximus were laid out during the first century CE (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 163). Some areas of the Cardo Maximus cut straight through Hellenistic and early first-century-CE buildings (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 163). However, the Decumanus Maximus was inserted by the demolition of the existing Hellenistic fortifications and thus partially respected the shape of the preexisting Hellenistic city (Curvers and Stuart 2006, 207). The colonnades were probably constructed during the second century, as some of fragments of architrave have the names Nerva and Trajan carved on them, suggesting that they were constructed in the reign of Trajan (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 163). The original stone-slab pavement of the walkways was embellished with mosaics in the fourth century CE (Curvers 2013c, 6).

The *decumanus* that followed the route of Rue Weygand was also at least partially colonnaded. Excavations in the Souks area, BEY 006, revealed a portico with shops running along the north side of the street (Perring 1997–1998, 21). The portico was traced for 60 m but did not extend to the eastern end of the excavation site, suggesting that the full length of the *decumanus* was not colonnaded (Perring 1997–1998, 21–22). The construction of the portico has been dated to c. 125 CE, with a major refurbishment c. 350 CE (Perring, Reynolds, and Thorpe 2003, 209–212, 217–219). This northern *decumanus* runs westward toward the entrance of the theatre and hippodrome. The late theatre is known to have had a portico, and this raises the prospect that the *decumanus* was colonnaded from the central monumental area westward to the theatre, but further work will be needed to determine if this was the case (Curvers 2015, 5).

Comparing the colonnaded streets of Berytus with those of neighbouring Levantine cities presents a consistent picture (cf. Segal 1997, 48–49). The second-century construction date of the Cardo Maximus and Decumanus Maximus colonnades is consistent with most Levantine cities. The width of the street and covered walkways, at approximately 27 m, is slightly larger than most other examples, but the width of the covered walkways themselves, at 11 m, lies within the range of 8–12 m of most cities. The use of imported granite columns does set Berytus apart, as most other cities used local stone for their colonnades (Saghieh-Beidoun et al. 1998–1999, 114). Table 1 compares the colonnaded streets at Berytus with those of other cities in Roman Palestine, Syria, and Arabia using data from Segal (1997, 48–49).

TABLE 1 Comparative data for colonnades for Levantine Cities (additional data from Segal, 1997)

| City | Street name | Date (of colonnades) | Width (m) | Width of walkways (including stylobates) (m) | Total width (m) | Type of colonnades | Major junctions |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Berytus | Cardo Maximus | 2nd | 12.6 (S) 14 (N) | 13.6 | 26.2 (S) 27.6 (S) | Architraves | Tetrakionion |
| Berytus | Decumanus Maximus | 2nd | Approx. 13.4 | 13.6 | Approx. 27 | Architraves | Tetrakionion |
| Berytus | Northern Decumanus | 2nd | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| Deir el-Qalaa | Colonnaded Street | 4th–6th | 6.6 | 5.2 | 11.8 | ? | ? |

TABLE 1 Comparative data for colonnades for Levantine Cities (*cont.*)

| City | Street name | Date (of colonnades) | Width (m) | Width of walkways (including stylobates) (m) | Total width (m) | Type of colonnades | Major junctions |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Damascus | Decumanus Maximus | 2nd | 13 | 12 | 25 | Decorative arcades | Triumphal arches / tetrapyla |
| Philippopolis | Cardo Maximus | 3rd | 11 | 8 | 19 | Architraves | Tetrapylon |
| Philippopolis | Decumanus Maximus | 3rd | 11 | 8 | 19 | Architraves | Tetrapylon |
| Susita (Hippos) | Decumanus Maximus | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| Hammat-Gadar | Cardo | 2nd–3rd | 6 | ? | ? | Architraves | ? |
| Hammat-Gadar | Decumanus | 2nd–3rd | 12 | ? | ? | Architraves | ? |
| Gadara | Decumanus Maximus | ? | 12.55 | 6 | 18.55 | Architraves | ? |
| Bosra | Cardo Maximus | 2nd | 8 | 10 | 18 | Architraves | Decorative structures (nymphaeum) |
| Bosra | Decumanus Maximus | 2nd | 8 | 10 | 18 | Architraves | Tetrapylon & Triumphal arch |
| Bosra | Theatre Street | 2nd | 8 | ? | ? | Architraves | Triumphal Arch |
| Bosra | Fountain Street | 2nd | 8 | ? | ? | Architraves | Tetrapylon |
| Beth-Shean (Scythopolis) | Palladius Street | 4th | 7.5 | 17.6 | 25.10 | Architraves | ? |
| Beth-Shean (Scythopolis) | Northern Street | 4th–6th | 11.5 | 12 | 23.50 | ? | ? |
| Beth-Shean (Scythopolis) | East-West Street | 6th | 6.7 | ? | ? | Arcades? | ? |
| Gerasa | Cardo Maximus | 1st | 5.4 | 8 | 13.4 | Architraves | Tetrapyla & Triumphal Arch |
| Gerasa | Northern Decumanus | 2nd | 7.6 | 12 | 19.6 | Architraves | Tetrapylon |
| Gerasa | Southern Decumanus | 2nd | 7 | 8 | 15 | Architraves | Tetrapylon |
| Samaria (Sebaste) | Shops Street | 2nd–3rd | 12.5 | 10 | 22.5 | Architraves | ? |
| Philadelphia | Decumanus | 2nd | 8.4 | ? | ? | Architraves | ? |
| Philadelphia | Cardo | 2nd | 8.4 | ? | ? | Architraves | ? |

TABLE 1 Comparative data for colonnades for Levantine Cities (*cont.*)

| City | Street name | Date (of colonnades) | Width (m) | Width of walkways (including stylobates) (m) | Total width (m) | Type of colonnades | Major junctions |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jerusalem | Cardo | 6th | 12 | 10 | 22 | Architraves | ? |
| Petra | Colonnaded Street | 1st–2nd | 6 | 8 | 14 | Architraves | ? |

## 6.3 Public Buildings and Religious Architecture

### 6.3.1 *Forum*

The location of the Roman forum in Beirut was clearly identified by Lauffray (1944–1945, 21–26), based on the excavations that took place in the 1930s, prior to the construction of Place de l'Étoile. The area to the south of the baths complex, described in section 6.3.4 below, was open in an area to the west of the Cardo Maximus for approximately 80 m. Furthermore during the construction of Banco di Roma in 1935, on the southern side of Place de l'Étoile, the remains of a cryptoporticus were found, one arch of which was subsequently displayed in the bank lobby (Lauffray 1944–1945, 58–60). The demolition of the same building in advance of the construction of an annex building for the parliament in 1995 provided an opportunity for further study, where more arches of the cryptoporticus were found (Marquis and Ortali-Tarazi 1996).

As noted above, Mouterde (1942–1943) believed he had identified the Roman forum in the area of junction of Rue Weygand and Rue Foch. Lauffray (1944–1945, pl. 1) included it on his plans as the Eastern Forum. However, no clear evidence for the existence of this second forum was found during excavations in the area (BEY 158) by Curvers and Stuart (2006, 197).

### 6.3.2 *Temples*

Despite the large-scale excavation of Beirut during the reconstruction of the city, very little new information on religious activity has come to light, and to date no Temple structures have been definitively identified. Before discussing the archaeological evidence, it is important to examine other sources of information. The coin series of Berytus show images of Temples dedicated to Poseidon and the Tyche of Berytus (Sawaya 2009, 268–270, Butcher 2001–2002b,

147–152). Poseidon was represented on coins issued by Berytus in the Hellenistic period (e.g., ANS[1] 1944.100.77135) and continues to be pictured on coins into the Roman period (e.g., Severan period coins ANS 1992.54.810, 1944.100.74952), while a coin issued by Macrinus shows a hexastyle Temple with Poseidon inside (ANS 1944.100.72343), suggesting that there was a Temple to Poseidon in Berytus. Coin series issued under Elagabalus also show a Temple with six columns, while one series issued under Elagabalus shows a Temple with four columns, although as Sawaya (2009, 268–270) points out, this may simply reflect artistic choice rather than provide evidence of two Temples or indeed Temple reconstruction. The Tyche of Berytus is shown in a Temple, on coins issued in the names of Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Septimus Severus, Caracalla, Julian Domna, Macrinus, Diadumenian, Elagabalus, Julia Maesa, and Gordien III (Sawaya 2009, 23–82). There is some debate about whether at least one of these coins issued in the name Commodus actually represents Astarte rather than the Tyche (Sawaya 2009, 55, series 72, Butcher 2001–2002b, 149), although Sawaya (2009, 268–270) notes that Astarte is frequently represented as a Tyche on coins issued in Phoenicia, raising the question of whether the coin series actually represents a Temple of Astarte rather than one dedicated to the Tyche of Berytus.

A number of inscriptions have been recovered from various locations in Beirut, including eleven to Jupiter Heliopolitan, two to Venus Heliopolitan, two to Mercury Heliopolitan, and three to all three Heliopolitan deities (Ghadban 1997, 228). The presence of such a large body of inscriptions has led to the conclusion that a Temple dedicated to Jupiter Heliopolitan was present in the city. A further dedication to Jupiter Heliopolitanus inscribed on a statue base was recovered from the area of BEY 045 (Ghadban 1997). However, it is worth noting that at the Temple at Deir el-Qalaa, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7, a wide variety of dedications to many deities were found in addition to Jupiter Balmarcod, the deity that the Temple is believed to be dedicated to. Hence the presence of a dedication or even a group of dedications does not necessarily imply the presence of a Temple. Nevertheless, there is evidence that a Temple to Jupiter Heliopolitanus may have been located south of the Decumanus Maximus. Seyrig (1937, 85–87) recorded the recovery of the arm of a statue of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, believed to have been found in the garden of a house on Rue Syria. This road runs north–south and is very close to the location of the southern Cardo Maximus. The fine blue-white marble of the statue fragment suggested to Seyrig that this might have been a part of the cult statue itself.

1 American Numismatic Society.

There is one piece of historical evidence for a Temple in Berytus. Pausanias (7.23.6) records that there was a Temple dedicated to Eshmun-Asclepios in the city. In addition a coin issued in the reign of Elagabalus shows a deity between two servants that has been interpreted as representing Eshmun-Asclepios (Sawaya 2009, 72 Series 103).

During the reign of Vespasian, shops in the forum were restored, and a statue of Liber Pater was placed in the forum (CIL IV.160), according to an inscription recovered in Rue Foch (Cagnat 1924). Millar suggests that the statue may in fact have been of Liber Pater's servant Marsyas (Millar 2006, 173), thus providing a link to the frequent appearance of Marsyas on the coinage issued by Berytus (see, for example, BMC 27, 192). Indeed some of these coins clearly show a statue of Marsyas under an arch (e.g. Sawaya 2009, 70, series 100). This may reflect a statue of Marsyas under an arch or perhaps the presence of Syrian arches (arcuated lintel) in the architecture of the forum where the statue was placed. There was a statue of Marsyas on the edge of the *comitium* in Rome, and hence Marsyas provides a link between the colony of Berytus and Rome (Millar 2006, 173).

#### 6.3.2.1 Temple Site Northwest of *Tetrakionion*

Lauffray (1944–1945, 60–62) exposed fragmentary remains of public buildings on the site to the north of the Decumanus Maximus and west of the Cardo Maximus. He proposed that the remains were of three buildings, a Temple dedicated to Fortune, the Edifice Romaine, and the Edifice Byzantine. In BEY 004, the west side of the Cardo Maximus colonnade was broken in two places; at the northern end of the excavation, a road branched off to the west, and further south polished stone steps, and in all likelihood gray granite columns, marked the entrance to a building on the west of the Cardo Maximus (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 163). The separation between the western road and the junction with the Decumanus Maximus was around 80 m, while the cryptoporticus found in BEY 009 lies around 150 m from the Decumanus Maximus (Marquis and Ortali-Tarazi 1996). The excavation of BEY 148, on the Decumanus Maximus west, revealed a building with a white mosaic floor on the north side (Curvers and Stuart 2006, 193).

It seems likely that public architecture occupied at least part of this insula, given its proximity to the forum. As Curvers and Stuart (2006, 209) suggest, this is likely to be a single public building and not three as Lauffray proposed. A Temple is very possible, although what the dedication was is unknown. Lauffray (1944–1945) suggested Fortune/Tyche, and given the prominence of Tyche on coin series, this is a strong possibility, although as discussed above, the coin series may represent Astarte rather than the Tyche of Berytus, and a Temple

dedicated to Astarte may lie under the Aazarieh building. The other possible dedication is Poseidon, again given the prominence of a Temple of Poseidon on coin series and the association of Poseidon with Berytus during the Hellenistic period, which will be examined further below.

#### 6.3.2.2 Temple Site Southwest of *Tetrakionion*

Excavations in the basement of the Grand Theatre of Beirut, BEY 140, revealed the top of a wall 2.45 m thick, suggesting the presence of a large public building (Curvers and Stuart 2006, 192, 209). The Grand Theatre lies immediately to the west of the Aazarieh building and hence to the west of the Cardo Maximus. Excavations immediately north of BEY 140, in BEY 148, revealed the Decumanus Maximus itself and parts of the buildings north and south of the street (Curvers and Stuart 2006, 193, 209). The building south of the street had four entrances marked with polished stone thresholds that were spaced between 2.65 m and 2.8 m apart (Curvers and Stuart 2006, 193). Each entrance provided access to separate rooms, one containing a mosaic (Curvers and Stuart 2006, 193). The mosaic room had a second door leading to a further room that was disturbed and lay partly under the modern street (Curvers and Stuart 2006, 193). A second room off the main street had a marble floor, below which was a cross-shaped channel constructed of ceramic tiles (Curvers and Stuart 2006, 193). The thickness of the walls of this building suggested public architecture (Curvers and Stuart 2006, 193). Of course, it is unknown whether any of this architecture relates to a Temple and if so to which deity this Temple was dedicated. The neighbouring site to the west of the Grand Theatre may provide more answers. This has recently been excavated, although no information on any findings is currently available. Curvers and Stuart (2006, 200) have labelled this site as the potential location of a Temple dedicated to Jupiter Heliopolitanus, and it lies immediately to the west of Rue Syria, the location of the statue fragment recovered by Seyrig (1937, 74–75).

#### 6.3.2.3 Nymphaeum and Temple under Aazarieh Building

The Aazarieh building is a prominent office block on the south side of Rue Emir Bechir and opposite the Maronite cathedral of Saint George. Prior to construction the site was excavated by the DGA, although the only information that remains from the excavation is the site plan. Lauffray (1944–1945, 74–75) believed that there was a large Temple dedicated to Jupiter Heliopolitanus in the area to the south of the Decumanus Maximus[2] and east of the

2 Note that Lauffray believed that Rue Weygand was the location of the Decumanus Maximus, not Rue Emir Bechir.

Cardo Maximus on the basis of the number of dedications to the deity recovered from this area and its proximity to the find location of the statue arm recovered by Seyrig (1937, 85–87). Lauffray (1944–1945, 74–75) was also aware of the descriptions by early travellers of a building with columns in this area.

The west side the Cardo Maximus colonnade was broken by a semicircular feature identified as a nymphaeum (Saghieh-Beidoun et al. 1998–1999, 111). Three fragments of frieze found in the area north of Rue Emir Bechir are likely to have come from the nymphaeum and are similar to examples in the pediment of a nymphaeum at Jerash and to those found in the circular niche of the nymphaeum at Letoon (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 168). To the southeast of the nymphaeum on the opposite side of the Cardo Maximus was a building complex that may have been a Temple (Saghieh-Beidoun et al. 1998–1999, 111). Saghieh-Beidoun et al. (1998–1999, 111) suggest that this may have been the Temple of Apollo or perhaps more likely a Temple dedicated to Astarte, given the large number of broken Astarte figures found in the southern part of BEY 004. The DGA diagram itself suggests this might be the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus as proposed by Lauffray.

#### 6.3.2.4 Hellenistic Temple Site on Corner of Rue Weygand and Rue Foch

A possible Hellenistic Temple was discussed in Chapter 4, located on the corner of Rue Weygand and Rue Foch. Lauffray (1944–1945, pl. 1) marked this Temple location on his plan of Roman Berytus, and it is possible that the Temple continued into the Roman period, although there is no archaeological evidence to show that it did. This Temple may have been dedicated Aphrodite and/or Astarte. Continuity of this Temple may, therefore, mean that the Temple site under the Aazarieh building was dedicated to a different deity.

#### 6.3.2.5 Continuity and Change in Religion at Berytus

Although the archaeological evidence is in most cases rather ambiguous, combined with numismatic evidence and evidence from inscriptions, a picture of religious practice in Berytus during the Roman period begins to emerge. There is a strong element of continuity with the Hellenistic past. Poseidon is represented on Roman coins issued by Berytus, and it is almost certain that there was a Temple in the Roman city. Poseidon, syncretised with the local deity Baal Berit, appears on Hellenistic coinage. Furthermore, the Hellenistic community of Berytans on Delos named themselves the Poseidoniasts (see section 4.5.4). The Tyche of Berytus also appears on Hellenistic coin series issued by Berytus (Sawaya 2009, 23–27), as indeed does Astarte. The archaeological evidence from BEY 004 also clearly shows evidence of the worship of Astarte in both the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

In this context, the appearance of Jupiter-Heliopolitan and the Heliopolitan deities represents an intrusive element that was not present prior to the Roman period. It is the foundation of the colonia that brings the Bekaa and Berytus together, a situation that had not previously existed and was an entirely Roman creation, so it not surprising that Heliopolitan deities only appear in Roman contexts. The presence of Liber Pater/Marsyas is also a very clear Roman innovation, possibly associated with colonial status.

A study of religion in Berytus cannot be completed without an examination of the major Temple complex at Deir el-Qalaa in the mountains to the southeast of the city. The archaeological evidence for Temples from this site is arguably better than anything so far found in Beirut itself, and it is to this site that the next chapter is dedicated.

### 6.3.3 *Theatre and Hippodrome*

The existence of certain public buildings in Berytus is well known from passages in Josephus, who records that Herod Agrippa constructed a theatre, an amphitheatre, baths, and porticoes in Berytus (*Ant.* XIX.7.5). Josephus also records that at the dedication of the buildings, 1,400 criminals were forced to fight in gladiatorial combats (*Ant.* XIX.7.5). The existence of a hippodrome at Berytus is known from several ancient sources, including the fourth-century-CE *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* (XXXII). Chariot racing at Berytus was also mentioned for the years 487–488 CE by Zacharias of Mytilene in his *Life of Severus*. The famous charioteer Porphyrius is known to have raced at Berytus at the end of the fifth century, according to a statue base from Constantinople (Cameron 1973, 82). A lead tablet, cursing the blue faction, was found in Beirut in 1929 and has now been dated to the fourth century CE (Mouterde 1930–1931, 106–123).

Prior to the BCD Infrastructure Archaeology Project, the location of the ancient theatre was unknown, although the use of the slope of the Serail Hill was anticipated (Curvers 2013d, 20). Nevertheless, it was only during the excavation of the hippodrome that the remains of the theatre were recognised. Two possible sites for the hippodrome were identified prior to the BCD Infrastructure Archaeology Project. Chehab (Stuart and Curvers 2008, 2) and Mouterde (1966, 40) favoured a site along Wadi Abu Jmil street, while Davie (1987) proposed a location close to Martyrs' Square. The recent excavation programme demonstrated clearly that the hippodrome was not at Martyrs' Square, and in 2007 the exposure of the *spina* of the hippodrome in BEY 155 at Wadi Abu Jmil finally proved the location beyond doubt (Stuart and Curvers 2008, 2). A dedicated amphitheatre has not yet been found in Beirut. Lämmer (1974, 1973) argues that Josephus may have in fact been referring to an "amphitheatrical

space" rather than an amphitheatre and hence may have use amphitheatre in a generic sense, which would raise the prospect that Josephus was referring to the hippodrome in the text of *Antiquities*. However, Humphrey (1986, 520f.) argues strongly that Josephus was well aware of the correct use of terminology, and this would mean the amphitheatre in Beirut remains to be found. As Millar (2006, 171) notes, the amphitheatre was not a feature normally associated with Greek cities.

The remains of both the theatre and hippodrome are heavily truncated, and much of the stonework appears to have been robbed in the aftermath of the devastating earthquake in 551 CE (Curvers 2011, 2013d, 2015). The hippodrome development consisted of three or four phases. The three clearly defined phases are for a phase one hippodrome of 42 m width and dated to 50–100 CE, a phase two hippodrome of 66 m width dated to 100–150 CE, and a third and final phase with an 80 or 88 m wide track complete with *spina* (Curvers 2015, 6). An 88 m track would allow for the maximum twelve *carceres*, or starting gates (Curvers 2011, 6). An early foundation wall with the same alignment as those of the more clearly defined later phases raises the possibility of an early hippodrome (Curvers 2015, 6). Ceramics from the robbed fill would give a *terminus post quem* of 50–100 CE and a possible first hippodrome in the first half of the first century CE (Curvers 2015, 6). The full length of the track is unknown. After the earthquake, it appears a public building was constructed on the site and remained there from the sixth to the eleventh century (Stuart and Curvers 2008, 4).

The remains of the hippodrome *spina* were found in BEY 167, situated between Wadi Abu Jmil Street and France Street (Curvers and Stuart 2006, 202). Slabs of height approximately 1 m were found at the northern and southern edges of the *spina*, which had a width of 6.4 to 6.5 m (Curvers and Stuart 2006, 202).

It is important to examine the construction date and size of the hippodrome in the context of other such facilities elsewhere in the Levant as provided in Table 2. The key point to note is that the early hippodrome at Berytus may have been the first such Roman-style hippodrome constructed in the Levant. Of course, it is also important to make clear that most of the other sites have not been excavated to modern standards, and so it is possible that earlier construction phases have been missed. In the first phase, the hippodrome was very small at least in terms of width, smaller even than that of Gerasa, which was hitherto the smallest known (Humphrey 1986, 498). However, by the final phase, the width was comparable with Tyre, Bostra, and Caesarea Maritima and would have been wide enough for a full set of twelve chariots.

TABLE 2 Dates of hippodrome construction and relative dimensions for Levantine sites (Humphrey 1986)

| Location | Construction date | Length (m) | Width (m) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Antioch | 100–150 CE | 492 | 70–75 |
| Berytus | 50–100 CE | ? | 42 (early)–88 (late) |
| Bostra | ? 200–300 CE | 420 | 83–97 |
| Caesarea Maritima | 200–400 CE | 450 | 90 |
| Gadara | ? | 293 | ? |
| Gerasa | ? 100–200 CE | 244 | 50 |
| Laodicea | 193–211 CE | ? | ? |
| Tyre | 150–350 CE | 480 | 86 |

The remains of the theatre were discovered during the excavation of the carceres area of the hippodrome (Curvers 2011, 8). The stage, backstage, and orchestra lay with the excavation area BEY 155 but only a small part of the seating area. There were two theatres constructed on the site, an early theatre and its later replacement, a larger theatre on a slightly different alignment (Curvers 2015). The theatre is clearly in proximity to the hippodrome and was likely directly connected to it via a passage; indeed they may have had a shared entrance (Curvers 2013d, 21). Similar close arrangement of a theatre and hippodrome is found at Bostra, Jericho (Humphrey 1986), and Aezani (Rohn 2008). The early theatre had a *postscaenium* of length 30.6 m with a likely diameter of the cavea of 54 m, and this would make the theatre similar in size to that of the Pompeii Large Theatre (Curvers 2015, 11). Three passages led from the *proscaena* to a complex of eleven to fourteen rooms in the *proscaenium* (Curvers 2015, 10). This arrangement was similar to that at the theatres of Venafrum, Pietrabbondante, and Augusta Praetoria, with Venafrum and Augusta Praetoria both being of Augustan date (Curvers 2015, 10–11). The earliest deposits associated with the first theatre contained pottery from 1–50 CE (Curvers 2015, 14) and are therefore consistent with the historical accounts attributing the construction of a theatre to Herod Agrippa. The theatre would, therefore, likely have been constructed first, before the early hippodrome (Curvers 2011, 8). The early theatre appears to have been redeveloped with the addition of a building to the west of the existing *proscaenium* (Curvers 2015, 12–13). This structure, described as a *versurae/basilicae* by Curvers (2015, 13), is on a slightly different alignment to the early *proscaenium*. Josephus (*Ant.* XX.9.4) also attributed the building of a theatre at Berytus to Agrippa II during the reign of Nero. It is possible that this passage refers to this second phase of theatre development.

The later theatre was a much larger building and was on a slightly different alignment to the earlier structure (Curvers 2015). The scena of the large theatre was 68 m in length, with the orchestra 34 m in diameter, and this would give a cavea diameter of 102 m on Vitruvian principles (Curvers 2011, 40). This size would make the large theatre similar to the Roman theatre at Arausio (Orange), which had an estimated capacity of 7,300 (Sear 2006, 86). However, the upper level of seating, *sumna cavea*, may not have been present in the northwest corner because of the carceres of the hippodrome (Curvers 2015, 25). Dating of the later theatre is somewhat uncertain. The later theatre had a colonnaded portico and 95 percent of the ceramics beneath the mosaic floor of the portico have been dated to the first half of the second century (Curvers 2015, 9). The *postscaenium colonnaded portico* and the associated nymphaeum can be dated to the fourth century on the basis of ceramics under the stairway or possibly to the third century on the basis of the fill of a rock-cut feature in the area of the *proscaena* (Curvers 2015, 10). The theatre was richly decorated with marble, inscriptions, statues, and reliefs (Curvers 2013d, 23). Fragments of the hands, foot, and leg of a giant statue have been recovered, suggesting further parallels with the statue at the theatre in Arausio (Curvers 2013d, 23). The orchestra had a marble floor, and the entrance colonnade had a mosaic that may have been lifted in entirety during the nineteenth or twentieth century (Curvers 2011, 38).

The question remains, to what extent does the presence of these Roman-style buildings represent an intrusive element in Berytus? The theatre is clearly an example of euergetism by the Herodian dynasty in a period in which this was very common across many sites in the Levant. Roman theatres could be found in Jerusalem (Josephus *Ant.* XV.8.1) and Caesarea Maritima (Josephus, *BJ* I.21.8), for example, in the late first century BCE. The early hippodrome, however, would represent the first such Roman-style structure in the Levant. Of course, the hippodrome was well known from the Greek world, and it is unclear whether Greek-style racing or Roman-style racing was staged there. Later Roman hippodromes were constructed throughout the region and chariot racing popular well into late antiquity. Nevertheless, the early hippodrome is an intrusive element in the context of the first century CE.

#### 6.3.3.1 Sports Clubs

In BEY 159, a channel cut across the site, and to the southeast of this channel lay a large complex constructed in the second half of the first century and later replaced by a building with large walls with a width up to 4 m (Curvers and Stuart 2006, 199). This building had plastered water tanks and associated water-supply channels to rooms. Similar remains were also exposed in both BEY 139 and 146, where large walls were found (Curvers and Stuart 2006, 192–193). The

structures in BEY 159 lay immediately to the north of the northern side of the track of the hippodrome. BEY 139/146 lay further east but still north of the hippodrome. Curvers and Stuart (2006, 200) interpreted these sites as sports clubs associated with the circus factions.

### 6.3.4 *Bathhouses*

As was noted earlier, Josephus records the provision of public buildings in Berytus by the Hasmonean dynasty (*BJ* I.21.11; *Ant.* XIX.7.5; XX.9.4), recording the gift of a bathhouse to Berytus by Herod Agrippa I. However, neither Herod the Great nor Agrippa II is recorded as providing bathhouses. An inscription naming Queen Berenice and Agrippa II (Cagnat 1928) was recovered from a location close to the site of BEY 045. This inscription describes how Queen Berenice and Agrippa II had refurbished a building that had been constructed by Herod the Great, although the building itself is not named. Lauffray (1944–1945, 56–57) interpreted the inscription as referring to a neuter noun, which would fit with the inscription relating to a bathhouse (*balnaeum*), and this would match the find location.[3]

Archaeological evidence from the early twentieth century pointed to the presence of a Roman bathhouse to the west of the Omari Mosque and to the east of the Serail Hill (Lauffray 1944–1945, 26), and excavations at BEY 045, 088, 102, 103, 126, and 128 have confirmed this (Thorpe 1998–1999b, Curvers and Stuart 1999, 20, 24–26, 2006, 209). Evidence for a second large bathhouse is present in the east of the Roman city in BEY 024, 094, and 160. A third bathhouse just below the Serail Hill was excavated in the pre-civil-war period (Jidejian 1993, xii–xiii).

#### 6.3.4.1 The West Baths—The Imperial *Thermea* of Berytus

R.P.L. Cheikho, the Jesuit and Chaldean priest, reported archaeological remains to the west of the Omari Mosque (Cheikho 1921, Lauffray 1944–1945, 26 f.). Cheikho reported a barrel-vaulted and apsidal building and interpreted this as the lower level of a Byzantine church. Above the barrel-vaulted structure was a marble floor that continued underneath the Omari Mosque. Cheikho also described considerable demolition rubble from the upper parts of the building. Lauffray (1944–1945, 30) argued that this building was in fact the remains of a Roman bathhouse. Lauffray (1944–1945, 29–30) notes that an equestrian statue was found to the west of the Omari Mosque and moved to the national

3 (Toynbee 1996, 91–94) associates this inscription with the civic basilica; however, as the text shows, this building has now been properly associated with the baths as a *kaisersaal*.

museum. Lauffray also recorded that a gray marble pavement was found above five barrel-vaulted cisterns, as well as the remains of a basin 1.5 m deep and 30 m long. In addition, the remains of a hypocaust were found during works on the corner of Rue Weygand and Rue Martel in 1931.

The excavations in BEY 045 provide clear evidence of a multiphase bathhouse complex situated on the Cardo Maximus, north and to the west of the forum (Thorpe 1998–1999b). A small section of hypocaust was also observed during the excavation of Saint George's Cathedral (Badre 2016, 74). Building 704 was overlaid on the remains of probable Hellenistic building 701, which was noted above in Chapter 4 (Thorpe 1998–1999b, 68). This building had a waterproof floor of tegulae set into *opus signinum* (Thorpe 1998–1999b, 68). Three other buildings were identified in the area of the excavation, including one that probably had a mosaic floor (Thorpe 1998–1999b, 68).

Building 709 In BEY 045 was a large Roman and Byzantine bathhouse with many different phases of development (Thorpe 1998–1999b, 68–78). The first phase of this building saw the construction of three or more rooms orientated north–south and probably representing a linear baths system with progression from apodyterium/frigidarium to tepidarium to caldarium (Thorpe 1998–1999b, 75). These rooms were supported by 2.5-metre-thick ashlar foundations and had internal dimensions of 10 m by 7 m (Thorpe 1998–1999b, 68). The eastern wall contained a drain, and there was some evidence for early cisterns to the east, below the level of the later cisterns (Thorpe 1998–1999b, 69). The walls were insulated with ceramic tiles, and no wall fittings were found for tubuli or *tegulae mammatae*, suggesting the baths were of early date (Thorpe 1998–1999b, 69).[4] A palaestra probably lay to the east of the rooms (Thorpe 1998–1999b, 77).

In the second phase of development, the baths were refurbished. A north–south wall subdivided the rooms, and the building appears to have been improved, with the upper courses of the walls rebuilt and the potential use of a hypocaust (Thorpe 1998–1999b, 69). Later in the period, the tepidarium was changed further, with the original north–south wall replaced by a new subdivision that may have represented the introduction of a laconium or sudatorium (Thorpe 1998–1999b, 70), while a small bath or pool was added to the tepidarium. A colonnaded entrance was added to the west of the palaestra, and a cold water pool to the north of the palaestra may have been added in this phase (Thorpe 1998–1999b, 69–70, 77).

4 The use of *tegulae mammatae* is not described by Vitruvius, while the introduction of box-shaped tubuli is known to have been in around 60 CE from a report made in a letter by Seneca (*Ep* 90.25).

The third phase of the baths marked a complete redevelopment of the structure, in which the building was modified to introduce the bilateral axial symmetry associated with the imperial baths in Rome (Thorpe 1998–1999b, 70). This style was first seen in the Baths of Nero but not fully realised until the Baths of Trajan (Thorpe 1998–1999b, 77). The main axis of the baths was now east–west, and the structure was expanded with the construction of a caldarium on the west, a *piscena*, and an enlarged frigidarium (Thorpe 1998–1999b, 70). The new structure allowed for a much more complex bathing experience and not the rigid linear sequence imposed by the structure of the earlier phases. The cisterns were replaced, and a large central drain was inserted into the building (Thorpe 1998–1999b, 70). Given the structural form, this phase probably dates from the second century and remained in use, with numerous refurbishments and repairs, through the end of the fifth century (Thorpe 1998–1999b, 77). Indeed, the building seems to have survived the great earthquake of 551 CE and continued in use well into the medieval period.

To the south of BEY 045, Lauffray (1944–1945) noted the existence of a colonnaded basilica hall that he described as the Basilica Civica. Excavations in BEY 126 revealed this building and the large marble floor on the north side (Curvers and Stuart 1999, 20). No road separated this building from the baths complex, and this supports Thorpe's theory that the building was in fact a *kaisersaal* associated with the imperial baths (Curvers and Stuart 1999, 20, 25–26, Thorpe 1998–1999b, 78). The hall was initially given a gray stone floor, and later mosaics were added (Curvers and Stuart 1999, 26). The building had a colonnaded entrance onto the Cardo Maximus north (Curvers and Stuart 1999, 20).

The imperial baths occupied an entire insula of the city and had a length of 200 m in an east–west direction and 100 m in a north–south direction, an area of 2 ha. This makes the complex only slightly smaller than the Baths of Nero in Rome (2.5 ha), although they were much smaller than the Baths of Trajan (7 ha) or the Baths of Caracalla (16 ha). Imperial bath complexes on this scale are rare in provincial contexts (Nielsen 1990, 87–90). The largest known baths complex outside Rome, the Antonine Baths in Carthage, was only slightly larger at 2.7 ha (Nielsen 1990, 87).

#### 6.3.4.2 The East Baths

Evidence of the presence of the eastern bathhouse is much more fragmentary that that of the western bathhouse complex. A large ceramic water pipe was found in BEY 024 (Heinz and Bartl 1997, 241). Fragments of a hypocaust system and mosaics were recorded in BEY 094 (Curvers and Stuart 1999, 17). A mosaic floor and a marble opus sectile floor were found in BEY 160 (Curvers and Stuart

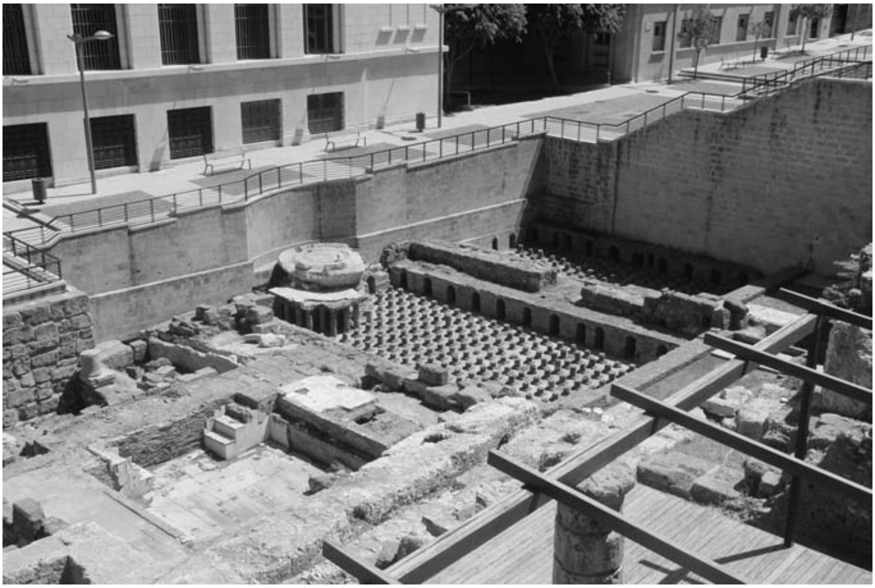

FIGURE 15 The Serail baths complex, now displayed in gardens below the Grand Serail

2006, 199). Curvers and Stuart (2006, 209) conclude that these remains probably constitute a bathhouse situated on the eastern Decumanus Maximus.

#### 6.3.4.3 The Serail Baths

The Serail baths complex site lies to the immediate east of Serail Hill. The baths were discovered in 1968–1969 with further excavation as part of the BCD Archaeology Infrastructure Project in sites BEY 016, 068, 117, and 122 (Jidejian 1993, xii–xiii, Curvers and Stuart 1999, 15–20). BEY 068 provided evidence of the water supply to the baths and contained lead pipes and canalisations cut into the bedrock (Curvers and Stuart 1999, 15). Excavation of BEY 117 revealed a large room with a rock-cut heating system, a smaller marble-lined room, and water reservoirs for the baths complex (Curvers and Stuart 1999, 18–19). Further lime-plaster-lined reservoirs were uncovered in BEY 122 (Curvers and Stuart 1999, 20).

### 6.3.5 *Water Engineering*

The presence of the large baths and the expansion of the city in the Roman period would clearly have added additional demand for water. To meet this demand, an aqueduct was constructed from sources at “de Daychoûniyyeh” in the river valley of the Nahr Beirut to the city (Davie and Makaroun 1997). The aqueduct ran down the north side of the river valley before crossing the valley

on a bridge (Davie and Makaroun 1997, 269–274). It had a height of 42 m and a length of 220 m, which is comparable with the dimensions of Pont du Gard, close to Nimes.[5] The route of the aqueduct beyond the valley crossing is not well known. Davie and Makaroun (1997, 265) believe it passed Hazmieh, Chiyyâh, and Furn el-Chabbâk before passing Achrafieh Hill to the east and then north. Finally the aqueduct is thought to have entered the city in the vicinity of the Aazarieh building (Davie and Makaroun 1997, 287–288).

Within the city there was an extensive water-distribution system with large channels, clay pipes, and lead pipes (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 179). Large channels carried water under the Cardo Maximus and Decumanus Maximus and under a *decumanus* approximately 80 m north of the Decumanus Maximus in BEY 004 (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 179). The channels under the *decumani* were constructed from stone and capped with an arch (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 180–181). Access points were provided into the channel under the northern *decumanus* through manholes with rosette-shaped covers (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 180). The channel under the Cardo Maximus was rock cut and overlaid by large capstones (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 180). Pressurised clay pipes overlay the north–south channel under the Cardo Maximus and frequently run alongside the larger water channels, with the clay pipes providing drinking water and the large channels water for other purposes (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 180). Lead pipes were also found in deep trenches to the eastern side of the Cardo Maximus and may have been used to feed fountains such as the one described earlier in section 6.2 (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 180).

### 6.3.6 *The Law School*

Berytus was well known as the site of a major school of Roman law (Millar 2006, 174). It was a centre of Roman legal studies from the third to the sixth century (Hall 2004, 195). For example, Gregorius from Neocaesarea in Pontus, who later became a bishop, travelled to Berytus to study Roman law in the 230s (Greg. Thaum. *Pana. Orig.* v). Gregorius also commented on the Roman character of Berytus as a place where Roman law was taught, while Libanus described Berytus as "the mother of laws" (Libanus, *Ep* 652.1). Berytus is first identified as a centre of education for Roman law under the Severan dynasty, and it is unclear when legal instruction began (Hall 2004, 203). The Roman scholar Probus was born in Berytus and may have been a descendent of the original veteran settlers (Hall 2004, 202). He later became a noted commentator on the *Aeneid* (Suetonius *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus*).

5 Pont du Gard has a height of 48.77 m and a length of 275 m (Davie and Makaroun 1997, 270).

Much of the historical evidence for the law school dates from fifth and sixth centuries. During this period the law school was known to be accommodated in a new building constructed by Bishop Eustathius and probably formed part of the Episcopal palace (Curvers and Stuart 2006, 210). Excavations in BEY 113 and BEY 158 have probably identified this fifth century building. In the fourth century, the law school *auditoria* were associated with the Anastasis Cathedral (Curvers and Stuart 2006, 210), a building that was destroyed during the reign of Julian the Apostate (Macadam 2001–2002, 208) and later rebuilt. The remains of the Anastasis Cathedral are believed to lie underneath the Saint George Orthodox Cathedral, which adjoins Place de l'Etoile (Makarem 2010, Badre 2016, 76). Excavations under the Saint George Cathedral were conducted prior to restoration and led eventually to the opening of an archaeological museum. Mosaics dating to the fifth century may indicate that this is the location of the Anastasis Cathedral but cannot be conclusive until the apse of the church is located (Makarem 2010, Badre 2016, 76).

### 6.3.7 *Walls and Gates*

There is very little information available on walls and city gates in the Roman period. However, the discovery of a first-century Roman gatehouse in the recent Riad al-Solh Square excavation has been reported in news media, although site reports are not yet available (Meguerditchian 2013).

## 6.4 Domestic Architecture

Three areas of the BCD Infrastructure Archaeology Project have revealed evidence of houses in the Roman period: the Souks area (BEY 006), the "zone of the churches" (BEY 004), and Martyrs' Square (BEY 001, 002, 026, 027, 048, 066, 069, 080).

Excavations in BEY 006, to the north of Rue Weygand, revealed extensive evidence of the development of a city insula from the Hellenistic period through to the Byzantine period (Perring 1997–1998, 19–30, Thorpe 2007, Perring, Reynolds, and Thorpe 2003). Figure 16 and Figure 17 illustrate the development of the insula through the Roman period. In the first Roman phase of development, two earlier Hellenistic buildings were demolished and replaced by ashlar-walled structures (building 4). Hellenistic building 3 was refurbished in the Augustan period with changes to internal partitioning and a wider use of mortar and cement floors (Perring, Reynolds, and Thorpe 2003, 204). Building 4 consisted of three or four courtyard houses on plots of approximately 11–12 m square (Perring, Reynolds, and Thorpe 2003, 205–206). Of these buildings one,

FIGURE 16 Plan of the insula of the House of the Fountains c. 100 CE
PERRING ET AL., 2003

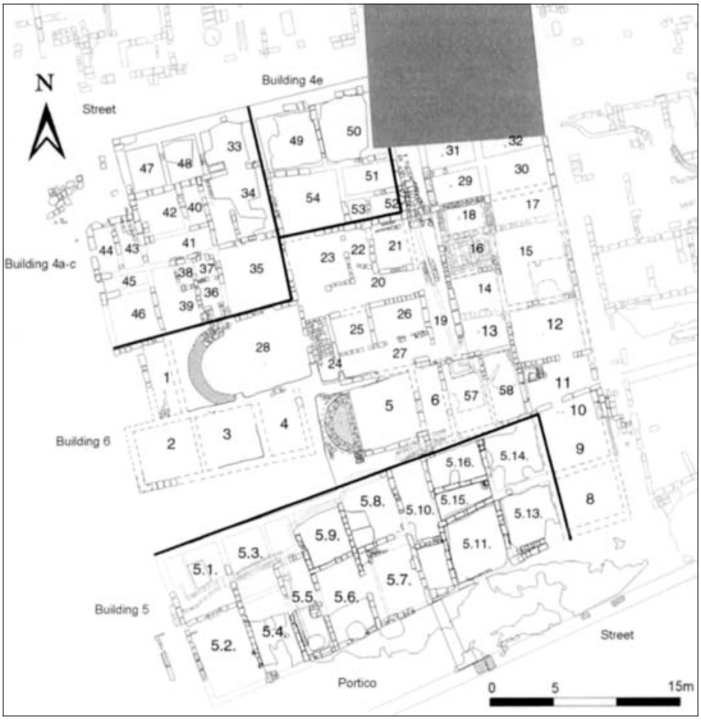


FIGURE 17 Plan of the insula of the House of the Fountains c. 350 CE
PERRING ET AL., 2003

4a, may have been pre-Augustan, but the remaining buildings contain Augustan remains and hence can probably be associated with the foundation of the colonia (Perring, Reynolds, and Thorpe 2003, 206–207). Two additional buildings, 4b and 4c, consisted of three to four rooms on the ground floor, and both had frontage onto the roads surrounding the insula, suggesting they were shops or workshops (Perring, Reynolds, and Thorpe 2003, 206). Building 4b contained a series of sunken tannour ovens, suggesting it was associated with the preparation of food (Perring, Reynolds, and Thorpe 2003, 206). Building 4a was remodelled around the end of the first century BCE to add a portico into the courtyard, while building 4f received a peristyle garden with a water basin in the period 70–100 CE (Perring, Reynolds, and Thorpe 2003, 206–207).

As was noted above in section 6.2, building 5 was constructed in around 125 CE with a row of shops and portico. After this there is little evidence for occupation in the houses until the whole area was redeveloped around 350 CE (Perring, Reynolds, and Thorpe 2003, 212). There is some evidence for refurbishment of the shops in building 5 around the middle of the third century after fire damage (Perring, Reynolds, and Thorpe 2003, 212). It may be that the houses were empty during the second and third centuries or that any investment in the buildings was on areas that would not leave an archaeological trace (Perring, Reynolds, and Thorpe 2003, 212).

The area was completely redeveloped in around 350 CE with the construction of a large house, building 6, the "House of the Fountains," which combined the earlier buildings 3, 4e, and 4f with additional rooms in areas that were previously open or taken from building 5 (Perring, Reynolds, and Thorpe 2003). This large house was modelled with a processional way through the building with "layered reception space" (Perring, Reynolds, and Thorpe 2003, 219). The house received a series of further embellishments, including the addition of mosaics and reconstruction of peristyle courtyards with fountains in the fourth and fifth centuries, until the house was severely damaged by the earthquake (Perring, Reynolds, and Thorpe 2003, 214). Buildings 4a–c were also remodelled in the mid-fourth century, with shops opening onto the road to the north (Perring, Reynolds, and Thorpe 2003, 219).

Two large houses were identified in the excavation of BEY 004 near the monumental centre of Berytus. Part of one house was found to the west of the Cardo Maximus within BEY 004, with the remainder unexcavated and lying under Ma'arad Street (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 171). This house had an ornamental pool in the form of a narrow channel that surrounded a peristyle garden on three sides (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 171–173). Similar types of ornamental pools have been found in France and Spain (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 171). The house also had a hall with an apse that was floored with a sequence of mosaic floors, the

hall being dated to the fourth century (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 171). The house was subsequently remodelled in the fifth century (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 171). A second house was found immediately behind a series of shops that fronted the north side of the northern *decumanus* running through BEY 004 (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 173). This house had fourteen rooms surrounding a central courtyard that was paved with flagstones and contained a well (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 173). Saghieh-Beidoun (2005, 173) notes that this style of courtyard house was common in the ancient Middle East.

Martyrs' Square has been subject to a series of excavations in different segments (see Curvers 2013e for a summary). Excavators identified Roman period houses in BEY 027 (Arnaud, Llopis, and Bonifay 1996), BEY 048 (Mongne, Stephan, and Zarazir 2003), BEY 066 (Curvers and Stuart 1999), BEY 069 (Bouzek 1996), and BEY 080 (Curvers 2013e, 17–19). In BEY 027, Roman period houses were located on an east–west street where the buildings have the same orientation as in the Hellenistic period (Arnaud, Llopis, and Bonifay 1996, 106–109). Remains of Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine period houses were found in BEY 048, although the poor state of preservation made it difficult to interpret them (Mongne, Stephan, and Zarazir 2003, 73). In BEY 066, a complete insula of size 40 m by 40 m was found, subdivided into four blocks of 20 m by 20 m by alleyways (Curvers 2013e, 14, Curvers and Stuart 1999, 5). BEY 069 consisted of a small 10 m by 30 m strip of Martyrs' Square and revealed parts of Roman houses that had reused earlier Hellenistic foundations (Bouzek 1996). A complete building plan was revealed in BEY 080, which may have been a house, although the presence of a large number of ovens suggested it may in fact have been a bakery (Curvers 2013e, 17–19).

In the early Roman period, new houses were most often inserted into areas in such a way as to respect the existing Hellenistic street plan. In the Souks area, this meant partial redevelopment of an existing insula, with some buildings retained and new ones inserted around them. Around Martyrs' Square new houses seem to have been constructed but reusing existing Hellenistic foundations. Only close to the monumental centre does the new Roman street plan seem to have cut through earlier Hellenistic structures. The early house style seems to have been the "courtyard house" on plots ranging from 11 to 12 m square to 20 m square. Plots of 20 m square were identified at the Trajanic colonia at Timgad, and the plots in the Souks area are small by comparison (Perring, Reynolds, and Thorpe 2003, 208). Given that the buildings in the Souks were Augustan, it seems likely these were associated with the settlement of veterans at the foundation of the colonia (Perring, Reynolds, and Thorpe 2003, 208).

Other larger houses were clearly present, such as those found in BEY 004. The later redevelopment of the Souks area to create the "House of the Foun-

tains" matches a pattern observed in other cities, such as Antioch (Perring, Reynolds, and Thorpe 2003, 219). The presence of Christian symbols might mean this house was associated with the Church (Perring, Reynolds, and Thorpe 2003, 219), although the high standards of decoration were similar to those found in the house to the west of the Cardo Maximus.

## 6.5 Commerce

### 6.5.1 *The Roman Port*

As noted in Chapter 4, the ancient port lay between Burj al-Mina in the east and the western promontory in the Souks area (Marriner, Morhange, and Saghieh-Beidoun 2008, 2506). This corresponds to the area surrounding the northern end of Rue Allenby in modern Beirut, and the whole site is now buried under the modern city, with the waterfront now significantly farther north due to nineteenth-century-and-onward construction and land reclamation activities. To date little physical infrastructure of the ancient port has been found associated with the Roman period. In BEY 007, the northern zone of the Souks excavation, a set of rock-cut steps and two rock-cut vats represent the only remains so far identified (Seeden and Thorpe 1997–1998, 228). The steps led down to a small cove that might have been a dock for a small boat, possibly a fishing boat (Seeden and Thorpe 1997–1998, 228), and the vats may have been associated with fishing activity. The southernmost vat contained three almost complete ceramic vessels dating from either the late Roman or early Islamic period, while the northern vat seems to have remained empty until covered by a later Ottoman warehouse (Seeden and Thorpe 1997–1998, 228). It is not clear why so little evidence has been found of Roman port infrastructure. This may simply reflect the sites available for excavation or the possible successive remodelling of the port in later periods (Marriner, Morhange, and Saghieh-Beidoun 2008, 2510–2511). However, it is also very likely that the Roman port infrastructure was very badly damaged as a consequence of the 551 CE earthquake and associated tsunami (Marriner, Morhange, and Saghieh-Beidoun 2008, 2510). John of Ephesus described the sea retreating two miles prior to a huge wave that flooded the shore, suggesting a powerful tsunami that would inevitably have devastated the harbour (Van Douwen and Land 1889, 224–243).

### 6.5.2 *Shops and Workshops*

A large pottery and glass-production site was found in BEY 015, situated to the east of Georges Haddad Avenue and on the eastern edge of the Roman city

(Kowatli et al. 2006, 103–104). A series of tank furnaces was found for the production of glass from the late Hellenistic through to around the middle of the first century CE (Kowatli et al. 2006, 105–115). The presence of tank furnaces suggests that the site was used to fuse primary materials to form glass rather than just for the secondary production of vessels from raw glass, as had previously been assumed for workshops in Berytus (Kowatli et al. 2006, 112). A large range of coloured-glass fragments was recovered from the site, suggesting that the colourful glass vessel styles of Italy were popular in the region (Kowatli et al. 2006, 112). The likely products of this workshop included linear-cut bowls and bowls with irregular ribs (Kowatli et al. 2006, 112). In the mid-first century CE, the tank furnaces were replaced with a series of pottery kilns, and the site was given over to the production of amphorae and course wares (Kowatli et al. 2006, 118–127). Some of these amphorae were used to export goods from the colonia (see section 6.5.3 below). Pottery production continued into the early second century (Kowatli et al. 2006, 118).

Workshops/shops were present on both sides of the northern *decumanus* uncovered in BEY 004 (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 173). On the south side of the street were a row of shops that specialised in processing a product in liquid form (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 173). The shops were equipped with furnaces connected to tuyeres, while one side of the shop had a plastered surface with raised edges (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 173). Small pottery vessels were fixed into the floors (Saghieh-Beidoun et al. 1998–1999, 124). The form of pottery found suggests that the workshops were of early Roman date (Saghieh-Beidoun et al. 1998–1999, 124). The fact that all these rooms were almost identical is evidence of zoning in the city (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 173). On the northern side of the *decumanus*, shop 133 contained stacks of clay mortaria (Saghieh-Beidoun 2005, 173).

BEY 006, in the Souks area, provided evidence of commercial activity. In area 3, a series of rooms was found with large, sunken, domed clay-lined ovens, on either side of an alleyway running north–south (Perring 1997–1998, 24). The rooms formed the later phases of a stratigraphic sequence that ran down to the end of the first century CE (Perring 2001–2002, 137). However, the ovens were infilled in the period 60–100 CE, and the floors were not repaired or resurfaced until the fourth century, suggesting that the area was abandoned. In area 2, a portico was constructed in around 125 CE and was later refurbished around 350 CE (Perring, Reynolds, and Thorpe 2003, 209–211, 217–219). The portico contained a series of shops, while the area behind the first shop may have been a fullery (Perring 1997–1998, 21). The row of shops consisted of three units of two shops, with each shop unit consisting of a large room at the front and a smaller one at the rear (Perring, Reynolds, and Thorpe 2003, 209). A small room that

may have been a staircase to apartments above separated each of the three units (Perring, Reynolds, and Thorpe 2003, 209). A number of other buildings with road frontage in the same insula as the portico are also likely to beshops, as was noted earlier in section 6.4 (Perring, Reynolds, and Thorpe 2003, 206, 212).

### 6.5.3 *Trade*

The foundation of the colonia clearly led to large economic changes for Berytus. The city acquired the territory of the Bekaa valley, compared to its earlier hinterland on the Phoenician coastal strip. The Bekaa was a producer of oil, corn, wine, and fruit and this produce was now under the control of Berytus (Perring, Reynolds, and Thorpe 2003, 206, 212). As a colonia Berytus held the right of *ius Italicum* and was thus free of Roman taxes, which was a significant economic benefit (Arnaud 2001–2002, 182). Roman road construction would have opened routes to the interior of Syria and Arabia and hence provided these areas with access to the port at Berytus (Arnaud 2001–2002, 181). The colonia itself was founded by Italian veterans of Fifth Legio Macadonica and Eighth Legio Augusta, and these colonists would have been a potential market for goods from the western empire as well as producers of goods themselves.

In the early Roman period, imports of goods from Italy and Gaul were numerous but tended to be items such as votive lamps and Italian ceramics rather than oil, wine, and garum (Arnaud 2001–2002, 182). For example, baking dishes with lids were imported from Pompeii-Naples region, but Campagnian wine amphorae were rare (Arnaud 2001–2002, 182). Foreign goods were imported from the Aegean, the Cilician Sea, and Cyprus (Reynolds 2003, 121), including wine from the Aegean, Kos, and Rhodes (Arnaud 2001–2002, 182). Wine and garum were imported from southern Spain (Reynolds 2003, 121). In the first half of the second century, the pattern of selective imports from the western Mediterranean alongside the bulk of imports from the eastern Mediterranean continued. For example garum was imported from southern Spain and Portugal, but the more common regional export of Spanish oil in Dressel 20 amphorae was rare in Berytus (Reynolds 2003, 121). Fruit or wine was imported from Cilicia, and other goods were imported in amphorae from a number of locations in Syria (Reynolds 2003, 126). African goods became more prominent, such as pottery, but this matches the pattern across the Mediterranean from the Antonines onward (Reynolds 2003, 124). From the Severan period onward, wine was imported from northern Italy, Aegean, Cilicia, and Gaza, and imports of amphorae from Tunisia began, probably containing garum (Arnaud 2001–2002, 183).

During the first century, local produce from Berytus, probably wine, was carried in locally made amphorae stamped with the name of the city, "BER," and "COL" (Reynolds 2003, 126), and this suggests that the city itself owned land. This stamping of amphorae in the name of the city is rare and only otherwise found in Tunisian cities (Reynolds 1999, 49). The pottery-production site discussed above in section 6.5.2 provided evidence of two other types of amphorae. The first, a small carrot-bodied type with ring handles, possibly carried dates and was exported to sites in France, Germany, and Britain during the first and second centuries (Reynolds 1999, 49). The same amphorae type is rarely found in Beirut, suggesting that it was intended for export (Reynolds 2003, 121). A second "Koan"-type amphorae, intended for wine, was more commonly found in sites in Beirut between 100 CE and 230 CE (Reynolds 2003, 122). Linen may also have been exported and certainly became more important in the Byzantine period (Reynolds 2003, 122).

The evidence for Berytans outside the city and involved in trade is very limited. Numerous inscriptions relating to soldiers and officers have been found in Numidia and in Gaul (Arnaud 2001–2002, 181). The one example that relates to Berytan merchants comes from Puteoli in Italy. Two inscriptions were found, both relating to Jupiter Heliopolitanus. The first mentions natives from Berytus worshipping Jupiter Heliopolitanus:

> IMP. CAESARI | DIVI NERVAE TRAIAN. | OPTIMO AUG. GERM. | DACIC. PARTHIC. PONT. | MAX., TRIB. POTEST. xx, | IMP. xii, COS. vi PATRI PATR., | CULTORES IOVIS HELIOPO|LITANI BERYTENSES QUI | PUTEOLIS CONSISTUNT.
>
> CIL x.1634 = ILS 300

The second inscription mentions the *corpus Heliopolitanus*:

> HIC AGER IUG. viii, CUM CISTERNA | ET TABERNIS EIUS, EORUM POSSESSERUM | IURIS EST QUI IN CULTA CORPORIS HELIOPOLITA|NORUM SUNT ERUNTVE, ATQUE ITA IS AC|CESSUS IUSQ. ESTO PER IANUAS ITINERAQUE | EIUS QUI NIHIL ADVERSUS LECEM (SIC) | ET CONVENTIONEM EIUS CORPORIS FACERE | PRESEVERAVERINT.
>
> CIL x.1579 = ILS 4291

These inscriptions strongly suggest the presence of a *statio* of Berytan merchants at Puteoli. However, Berytan trade may have been less important in Rome than that of neighbouring Tyre, as it remained linked with Puteoli even after the construction of Portus (Arnaud 2001–2002, 183).

Evidence from inscriptions recovered from Beirut provides evidence of the presence of individuals or groups from other cities in Berytus. For example an inscription from the *Tarsensium Metropolis* records their dedication to the *duumvir quinquennalis* and *flamen Martis* of the colony (Arnaud 2001–2002, 184). The dedication by the Nabatean community to the Tyche of Hadriana Petra, found close to the harbour, may provide evidence of a *statio* (Lauffray 1944–1945, 77 inscription no. 10). Similarly, a bronze tablet recovered close to Beirut relates to a complaint made by the *navicularii Arelatenses* and may also indicate the presence of a *statio* of *navicularii maritime Arelatenses* in Berytus, associated with supplying corn to Rome (Arnaud 2001–2002, 184, Du Mesnil du Buisson and Mouterde 1914–1921b).

## 6.6 Funerary Practice

The Roman cemeteries in Beirut are found, as might be expected, outside the city. To the west, burials have been found as far as pigeon cave in Ras Beirut and to the east as far as what is now Saint George's Hospital, as well as on the slopes leading to Achrafieh southeast of downtown Beirut (Arnaud 2001–2002, 185; CIL III. 14165). The BCD Infrastructure Archaeology Project only encountered Roman in-situ burials on the edges of the area of investigation, as it was focused on central Beirut. Hence only a small number of sites associated with Roman funerary practice were excavated during the BCD programme, notably BEY 022/104 and BEY 095 (Stuart 2001–2002, 99, de Jong 2001–2002, 301).

### 6.6.1 *Burial Types*

Three categories of burial can be identified from the Roman period, all involving inhumation: collective tombs; single burials, typically in lead or ceramic coffins; and above-surface burial in stone sarcophagi.

#### 6.6.1.1 Collective Tombs

The collective tombs are the most significant funerary finds from the BCD Infrastructure Archaeology Project. At three neighbouring sites at the southwest boundary of the BCD zone (BEY 022, 095, and 104), several collective burials were identified. In BEY 022 four separate funerary structures were identified (Stuart 2001–2002, 100–104).

Building 01[6] was a rectangular tomb building constructed from limestone blocks with two square towers at the southeast and southwest corners (de

6 Funerary Structure I in Ghadban (1997, 209).

Jong 2001–2002, 291–297, Stuart 2001–2002, 101–103). Seven tombs were found with two compartments in each; five of the tombs were orientated northwest–southeast and two orientated northeast–southwest (Stuart 2001–2002, 101). Between the two towers was an arched niche with plaster and stone relief decoration showing an eagle with a laurel wreath and a reclining figure (Stuart 2001–2002, 101). The southernmost tomb lay below this niche and was covered with plaster. This burial was undisturbed and contained an individual with a gold facemask and a gold ring (Stuart 2001–2002, 101). The remaining compartments contained the remains of between one and ten individuals, and some compartments remained empty (Stuart 2001–2002, 102). In most compartments only the last burial was articulated (Stuart 2001–2002, 101–102). The grave goods, discussed below, indicate dates of second and third century CE for the tombs (Stuart 2001–2002, 101).

To the immediate southwest of building 01, three tombs with two compartments each were excavated from a neighbouring tomb building (Stuart 2001–2002, 102). All the tombs had northeast–southwest orientation. Four of the compartments were excavated, of which two were empty. The other two contained the remains of between six and eight individuals (Stuart 2001–2002, 102). Adjacent to building 01 was a set of steps and a corridor that may have led to a higher part of the cemetery area (Stuart 2001–2002, 102).

Building 02[7] was a rectangular building with bedrock walls, located around 5 m to the south of building 01 (Stuart 2001–2002, 102). The walls showed signs of pink/cream plaster (Stuart 2001–2002, 102). The building was developed in two phases. In the first phase, eleven tombs were constructed with a northwest–southeast orientation with cover slabs over the tombs (Stuart 2001–2002, 102). The graves were badly disturbed, and most of the cover slabs had been removed to use as platforms to support three sarcophagi introduced in phase II and a plaster floor added to cover the original tombs (Stuart 2001–2002, 102). A fourth vacant platform indicates that a further sarcophagus may have been removed from the site, possibly during infrastructure works during the twentieth century (Stuart 2001–2002, 102). Twenty-seven individuals were recovered from the building in total (Stuart 2001–2002, 102).

Building 03[8] was to the east of building 02 and separated from it by a high bedrock ridge (Stuart 2001–2002, 103). Four rock-cut tombs were exposed and formed part of a large funerary structure that was damaged during infrastructure works in 1954 (Stuart 2001–2002, 103). One of the tombs contained a terra-

7 Funerary structure II in de Jong (2001–2002).
8 Funerary Structure III in (de Jong 2001–2002).

TABLE 3 Table showing the number of burials in each population category from buildings 01 and 02 in BEY 022 (Stuart 2001–2002, 101)

| | Building 01 | Building 02 |
|---|---|---|
| Children | 3 | 1 |
| Subadult | 1 | 1 |
| Adult women | 4 | 7 |
| Adult men | 9 | 8 |
| Adult (unknown sex) | 7 | 7 |

cotta coffin with some human remains, another contained the remains of two individuals, and a third was empty (Stuart 2001–2002, 103, de Jong 2001–2002, 296).

The fourth building[9] was constructed of limestone blocks and located 13 m to the east of building 01. Three graves were found with side entry, similar to tombs found at Tyre (de Jong 2001–2002, 296–297). No detailed investigation was conducted, as the building lay outside the boundaries of the BCD project (de Jong 2001–2002, 297).

The collective tombs in BEY 022 provide a large enough sample of burials to meaningfully assess the ratio of male/female burials and the relative population of child versus adult burials. Table 3 illustrates the numbers of children, subadults, adult men, adult women, and adults whose sex could not be determined from the remains. Children and subadults are underrepresented in the population, suggested that they were buried elsewhere. In building 01 women are also underrepresented among those where the sex could be determined, although the same is not true of building 02. It is possible that the variation in female burials reflects burial practice for that funerary structure.

One hundred metres to the east of the funerary structures in BEY 022, two tombs were identified in BEY 095 (Stuart 2001–2002, 102–103), with a west–east orientation (Stuart 2001–2002, 103). One tomb had been disturbed and contained no finds, while the second, covered by an inverted sarcophagus, contained human remains and an early fourth-century gold coin (Stuart 2001–2002, 103).

9 Funerary Structure IV in (de Jong 2001–2002).

A series of tombs was found cut into bedrock to the north of BEY 022 in BEY 104 (Stuart 2001–2002, 103). Four separate structures were identified; caves 01 and 02 had north–south orientation, while caves 03 and 04 had an east–west orientation (Stuart 2001–2002, 103–105). Cave 01 consisted of a shaft with four tombs, two on either side of the shaft. The western tombs contained damaged ceramic coffins, while the southeast tomb contained the remains of six individuals. The northeast tomb had been removed by mechanical excavations (Stuart 2001–2002, 103–104). The last two individuals in the southeast tomb were buried in an extended position with the head to the south, while the other remains were not in situ (Stuart 2001–2002, 103). Cave 02 had five tombs that were badly disturbed and may in fact have been part of a funerary structure (Stuart 2001–2002, 103). Cave 03 contained four tombs, each with two compartments with a shaft at the eastern end (Stuart 2001–2002, 104). Three of the compartments contained ceramic coffins with a single burial with roof tiles used to cover the coffin (Stuart 2001–2002, 104). One compartment was empty, and the other four contained multiple burials of up to seven individuals, each buried in an extended position with the head to the east or the west (Stuart 2001–2002, 104). The last cave contained two tombs, one with a ceramic coffin with a roof-tile lid and a second containing the remains of at least five individuals (Stuart 2001–2002, 104).

A series of eight adult lead coffins and one child lead coffin was found, with coffins parallel to each other, at the corner of Rue Ibrahim Pacha and Rue en-Nahr (Stuart 2001–2002, 104). As such these are probably a group of related burials. A further group of five coffins was found 50 m to the east of the Pensionnat des Dames de Nazareth in Achrafieh (Chéhab 1934, 347–350, 1935, 61–63). Five of the coffins were lead, and one was ceramic (Mouterde 1929, 241). Two of these coffins contained finds, including gold foil leaves, a gold ring, a glass amphoriskos, a bone pin, and two gold bracelets inscribed in Greek with the name Claudia Procla (Stuart 2001–2002, 99). The decoration of the lead coffins suggests a second- or early-third-century date. A lead sarcophagus for a child was recovered with a number of ceramic coffins from Rue Mamari (Mouterde 1929).

#### 6.6.1.2 Single Burials

A small number of single burials have been identified from the Roman period, although the majority predate the BCD Infrastructure Archaeology Project, and details are often sketchy at best. One lead sarcophagus for an adult was recovered from Rue Sursock and another from the Jesuit Gardens (Chéhab 1934, 344). A lead sarcophagus for a child was found in Achrafieh at Sagasse College (Chéhab 1934, 345, 347). Another lead sarcophagus for an adult was recovered

from 200 m of the site in Rue Ibrahim Pacha, noted above (Chéhab 1934, 347). A single burial of a child of about eight to ten years was found in the necropolis of BEY 022. This burial lay in the area between buildings 01 and 02, and a large amphora fragment partially covered the body (Stuart 2001–2002, 102).

#### 6.6.1.3 Stone Sarcophagi

Further stone sarcophagi have been recovered from Beirut. One of a child was found 100 m southwest of the al-Omari Mosque, although it was clearly not in situ (Stuart 2001–2002, 102). (Stuart 2001–2002, 99, Cumont 1929) note that Davie (1987) reported that further sarcophagi were also found on the northeast corner of Place des Martyrs; presumably these were also not in situ. Two marble sarcophagi were excavated somewhere in Achrafieh by officers of the US Navy and are now in the Smithsonian in Washington DC (Mariti 1787). The two sarcophagi were highly decorative and carved from Proconnesian marble and hence were imported into Berytus. One of the sarcophagi bore the name Julia Mamaea, leading to the incorrect belief that they once held the remains of Severus Alexander and his mother (Jidejian 1993, 1–3). A plain stone sarcophagus was also recovered from Rue Abdul Hadi (Stuart 2001–2002, 100).

### 6.6.2 *Grave Goods*

Grave goods as recovered from the funerary structures excavated in the BCD Infrastructure Archaeology Project are, overall, unremarkable. The finds consist mainly of personal jewellery, glass bottles, coins, and spindle whorls. Many of the items appear local in origin and can be parallelled in other Roman Levantine burials. So, for example, three unguentaria were recovered from BEY 022, all dated to the second or third century and with parallels at Samaria and Caeserea, while a pair of simple round gold earrings has parallels at Tyre and Alia in Jordan (Stuart 2001–2002, 99). A number of coins recovered from burials suggested strongly that the coin was placed in the mouth of the deceased and shows a widespread belief in the Romano-Greek tradition of providing a coin to pay Charon to guide the deceased across the river Styx to the underworld (de Jong 2001–2002, 297). Four envelope-like objects in lead were recovered from building 02 (Stuart 2001–2002, 102). These were probably folded lead plaques containing curses, and given the proximity of these burials to the hippodrome (Stuart 2001–2002, 103), they may refer to chariot teams or drivers. Gold-foil leaves were present in some burials (de Jong 2001–2002, 298).

As noted earlier, one of the burials in building 01 in BEY 022 contained a facemask in gold foil (Stuart 2001–2002). Similar facemasks have been recovered from Douris, near Baalbek, as discussed in Chapter 10, and at Deb'aal and Tyre (Stuart 2001–2002, 101), and these will be discussed in the context of Douris.

### 6.6.3 *Continuity and Change in Roman Funerary Practice*

Comparing Roman period funerary practice as described above with the Iron Age pit and shaft graves described in Chapter 4 shows a marked change. While there is some evidence of the use of stone sarcophagi in the Hellenistic period (de Jong 2014–2015, 141), there is no evidence of this from Berytus. There are no precedents for the use lead or ceramic coffins in pre-Roman Berytus or for the use of collective burials in funerary enclosures or caves. The use of collective burials over a long period, where the remains of earlier tomb occupants are moved aside to accommodate new burials, is common in Rome and Ostia (de Jong 2001–2002, 299). Such collective tombs could accommodate one extended family or represent funerary societies where members contribute money to a collective to allow for burial. A mismatch between sexes in collective tombs would provide evidence of funerary societies associated with a particular trade, for example, although the one example where this is the case in Berytus is certainly not conclusive. The structure of the collective tombs in BEY 022 is one of a group of tombs within a walled enclosure rather than a funerary structure such as a mausoleum. Similar structures are also found at Tyre (de Jong 2001–2002, 299). There are parallels for this type of structure in Italy but also in Britain and Gaul (de Jong 2001–2002, 299). Nevertheless, there are some elements of these structures that could represent continuity from the pre-Roman past. Some parts of the funerary enclosures in BEY 022 are cut from bedrock, while the collective cave tombs (hypogea) of BEY 104 are not too dissimilar to the shaft tombs of the Iron Age, although used for multiple burials. In fact, these caves are southeast of the area where Iron Age shaft tombs have been found.

The question remains to what extent this change of funerary practice represents an intrusive element associated with the colony itself. The problem is that there is insufficient evidence to determine whether this is the case. There are clear parallels for these funerary practices elsewhere in the Roman Levant. The grave goods are also local in origin and have parallels from elsewhere in the Levant in the same period. By the date of these burials that have been uncovered in Berytus, mostly second century CE onward, Roman-style funerary practice seems to have been widespread. There is no evidence available from the last first century BCE and first century CE that would indicateany change in practice around the time of colonial foundation, and until such evidence is found, it will remain impossible to determine the extent of colonial "intrusion."

## 6.7 Conclusions: The "Reconstruction" of Berytus

As was noted in Chapter 4, Strabo (XVI.2.19) stated that Berytus was razed by Tryphon and restored by Romans. A key question then is to what extent the Romans redeveloped the Hellenistic city. The archaeological evidence is quite clear that some areas of the city were completely rebuilt, while in other areas, new buildings were inserted among preexisting architecture of the Hellenistic city. The monumental area of the forum and Cardo Maximus displayed the greatest change, and Roman architecture was inserted with limited regard to earlier buildings. However, even the Decumanus Maximus was inserted by apparently demolishing the Hellenistic walls and thus creating a space that could be filled by the road. Away from the monumental centre, new Roman buildings were constructed with little change to the Hellenistic road system. Some buildings were retained, and indeed building 3 of the BEY 006 Souks excavation was successively redeveloped from 200 BCE through to the earthquake in 551 CE (Perring, Reynolds, and Thorpe 2003, 204–205). The Roman aim seems to have been to build a Roman-style city with minimal reconstruction.

While the archaeology has not produced much definitive evidence of Temples with firm dedications, from what evidence has been found coupled with the numismatic evidence, it is clear that the main deities worshipped in the Hellenistic period, that is Poseidon, Astarte, and the Tyche of Berytus, continued to be worshipped in the Roman period. The intrusive element is the worship of Jupiter Heliopolitan and the other Heliopolitan deities.

Commerce and agriculture clearly develop from the early Roman period. The provision of new shops and workshops in the city is very clear in the early Roman period and some of these commercial ventures were likely associated with the incoming colonists. The acquisition of the territories of the northern Bekaa provided a large area of high-yielding agricultural terrain, and the development of Berytan amphora types were needed to export these commodities. Nevertheless, Berytus appears to have been a centre for export rather than trade, and Tyre appears to have remained the pre-eminent regional trading port.

Public buildings were developed from the start of the colony, with perhaps the first Roman hippodrome in the Near East and the construction of a theatre, probably by Herod Agrippa, as reported by Josephus. A bathhouse was constructed next to the forum, probably on the site of an earlier Hellenistic bath. During the second century, public building continued apace with the development of the large imperial-style baths complex, a larger hippodrome, and the construction of colonnades on the Cardo Maximus, Decumanus Maximus, and at least parts of the road leading from the centre to the hippodrome and the-

atre. Of course many Levantine cities underwent similar building programmes on the same scale at a similar time (See for example Segal 1997). What may distinguish Berytus is the grandeur of the building programme, with a very large imperial bath complex complete with *kaisersaal* and expensive imported Egyptian granite used in the colonnades. Yet while public building continued, some areas of the city appear to have been in decline, such as the houses in the Souks area that may have been abandoned during the late second and third century. The explanations for this are unclear, although the plague of 165 CE (Littman 1973) is one possible reason; the separation of Heliopolis as a colonia by Septimus Severus may be another.

Funerary practice also seems to have changed markedly under Rome. The previous burial practice was replaced by the use of communal burial plots, either for families or possibly funerary societies. Yet some elements of funerary practice may reflect continuity with the past, as some communal graves were found in rock-cut chambers. Grave goods varied in quantity and value, perhaps reflecting economic strata within the Roman society. Unfortunately, not enough is known about the Roman cemeteries to draw firm conclusions about the timing of the change of burial practice, and it is clear that neighbouring cities, such as Tyre, also saw similar changes.

The fourth century saw a significant revival in domestic architecture and in public building programmes. Large private houses such as the "House of the Fountains" were constructed. Mosaic pavements were added to the colonnaded streets, and the theatre received a portico and nymphaeum. It was during the fourth century that the law school of Berytus began to rise to prominence, with an auditorium associated with the Anastasis Cathedral.

Overall Roman Berytus was a major urban centre in the Levant. If it were not for the fact that the ancient city lies buried beneath the modern, it would clearly have become known as one of the most prestigious of ancient city sites in the modern Middle East. The colonial foundation served to enhance the prestige and importance of the Hellenistic city.

The programme of archaeological research during the post-civil-war reconstruction of Beirut has done much to enhance understanding of the Roman city; however, gaps in knowledge remain.

CHAPTER 7

# Deir el-Qalaa

## 7.1 Introduction

As was noted earlier in Chapter 1, the sanctuary site at Deir el-Qalaa is situated in the hills above Beirut and the Nahr Beirut (ancient Magoras) river valley, lying close to the modern village of Beit Mery. The site is around 10 km from the forum of Berytus, but to travel to the site today involves a journey of about 15 km by road. The site itself consists of a sacred area probably containing three Roman Temples and an area of settlement to its north (Nordiguian 1993–1994). Today the sacred area lies within the Monastery of Saint John, founded by the Antonin Maronite order in 1748 (Jean 2010). The monastery church is built on part of the remains of the Great Temple (Krencker and Zschietzschmann 1938, 1–3).

There is strong evidence that the sanctuary was directly associated with the city of Berytus. As will be shown later in Chapter 11, there is direct intervisibility between the site and the city. Secondly, as will be discussed in detail below in section 7.3, there is little evidence of settlement at the site at the time the Great Temple was constructed, leading to the conclusion that it was not a village sanctuary. Finally, an inscription to Jupiter Balmarcod recovered from the site also contains the Latin "FEL.BER", an abbreviation of Colonia Iulia Felix Berytus, which strongly suggests that the site belonged to the colony of Berytus (Rey-Coquais 1999, 608). As such Deir el-Qalaa can be seen as playing an important role in the religious life of the city.

This chapter explores the archaeology of the site at Deir el-Qalaa. The sacred area of the site is discussed in section 7.2, and the settlement area is discussed in section 7.3. To understand the deities worshipped at the sanctuary and their relationship to the colonia and earlier Hellenistic or Semitic gods, section 7.4 examines the body of inscriptions recovered from the site. Finally, section 7.5 aims to establish the role that the sanctuary played in the city of Berytus in the Roman period.

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## 7.2 The Sacred Area at Deir el-Qalaa

### 7.2.1 *Great Temple (Temple A)*

The Great Temple was of prostylos tetrastyle design, used Ionic columns, and had no podium (Aliquot 2009a, 269, Krencker and Zschietzschmann 1938, 1–3). The Temple was 42 m long, 18 m wide, and around 14 m high with a wooden roof (Bodnaruk 2011, 8). The cella walls terminated in antes and the pronaus had a two-column return, giving six large columns in total (Aliquot 2009a, 269). The cella walls were constructed from large megaliths and remain in place to a height of two courses (Aliquot 2009a, 269). Inside the cella, two staircases, on either side of the door, led to the roof (Aliquot 2009a, 269).[1] The interior of the cella was decorated with half columns (Aliquot 2009a, 270), and a crypt may have existed under the adyton (Élian, Nordiguian, and Salamé-Sarkis 1983, 25–28). The Temple was orientated in a northwesterly direction, facing toward the city of Berytus (Bodnaruk 2011, 9). This orientation, matched by the other Temples on the site, is relatively unusual, with the majority of Roman Temples in Lebanon being orientated to the east (Bodnaruk 2011, 9). Given the propensity of dedications to Jupiter Balmarcod in inscriptions recovered from the site, the Great Temple can be comfortably ascribed to this deity (Aliquot 2009a, 270). Most scholars have dated the Temple to either the first or second century CE.

### 7.2.2 *Temple B and Monumental Arch*

The remains of Temple B lie around 300 m to the north of the Great Temple. This small Temple was 11.3 m long and 8.6 m wide and was a prostylos tetrastyle Temple with no antes (Nordiguian 1993–1994, 370), the lack of antes being unusual in Lebanon. Two openings pierced the north and south cella walls (Nordiguian 1993–1994, 370). A votive altar decorated with a garland now lies inside the Temple remains, although this is almost certainly not in its original location (Nordiguian 1993–1994, 370). The adyton steps are preserved, and a statue base for the cult statue stands on the top of them (Nordiguian 1993–1994, 370). As with the Great Temple, the Small Temple has no podium, although there is a small platform used to level the site (Nordiguian 1993–1994, 370). The Temple is thought to have been dedicated to Juno, consort of Jupiter Balmarcod, and a dedication on a lintel found in the Temple area provides confirmation of this (Aliquot 2009a, 270).

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1 Similar staircases to the roof can be seen in the Temple of the Muses in the Santa Barbara area and in the Temple at Ras el-Ain in Baalbek, as well as both the Great Temple at Niha and the Large Temple at Hosn Niha. See Chapter 9 and Chapter 8 for more details.

Close to Temple B is a monumental arch with a Latin inscription dedicated to Trajan (Nordiguian 1993–1994, 370). The monumental arch lay on the southern boundary of the sacred area associated with Temple B and may have defined a processional way between the two Temples (Nordiguian 1993–1994, 370, Aliquot 2009a, 270). The arch was reerected by Kalayan during his work on the site in the 1960s.

### 7.2.3 *Temple C?*

To the west of Temple B is a large stone base similar in stone-working technique to the Great Temple (Nordiguian 1993–1994, 372). This may have been the basement level of a third Temple.

### 7.2.4 *Altars and Other Remains*

Ronzevalle (1903, 29–31) found the remains of an altar that would have been surrounded by four columns found on the site in 1900. The altar was inscribed with a bilingual inscription showing a dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus Balmarcodi, June Regina, Juno Sima, and Caelestis Sohemia (Ronzevalle 1903, 30).[2] Ronzevalle reported a second similar monument, which is now lost, while Nordiguian (1993–1994, 371) believes there is evidence of a third such monument near the road at the north of the sacred area. All that remain of this third altar are the impressions carved into the rock to hold the altar. (Nordiguian 1993–1994, 371) believes the altar may have been wooden. A further altar base lies to the right of the monumental arch (Nordiguian 1993–1994, 371).[3]

Ronzevalle (1900, 245) noted the existence of a Roman cistern and the remains of an aqueduct lying between the Great Temple and Temple B. The area has now been covered by landscaped gardens.

## 7.3 The Settlement Area

The settlement area lies around 250 m to the northeast of the Great Temple and is centred on a colonnaded street that runs east–west (Nordiguian 1993–1994, 356). Around 100 m of the street is well preserved, although with columns partially restored. The street is 6.6 m wide and is paved, as are the two colon-

2 See section 7.4.2 below.

3 Four-sided altars of this type are relatively common in the region and have been found at sites including Qalaat, Fakra, and Baalbek. A discussion of these types of altars that reference Heliopolitan deities can be found in Chapter 10.

nades (Nordiguian 1993–1994, 356), with the north colonnade 2.4 m wide and the south 2.83 m wide.

To the north of the colonnaded street lies a public bath complex (Nordiguian 1993–1994, 359). The baths had the minimum set of facilities associated with Roman baths and could be divided, probably for separate bathing by men and women (Nordiguian 1993–1994, 359).

Between the baths and the colonnaded street was a basilica church with a central nave and two aisles separated by colonnades (Nordiguian 1993–1994, 357). The church had an apse and was floored with mosaics (Nordiguian 1993–1994, 357). Chehab dates the building to the first half of the sixth century, based on the design of the mosaics, plan of the church and objects found during the excavation, while P. Donceel-Voûte dates it to the middle third of the sixth century (Nordiguian 1993–1994, 358).

On the south side of the colonnaded street lies a paved passage, at right angles to the street, leading first to an orthostat structure and then to a nymphaeum surrounded by houses (Nordiguian 1993–1994, 366). The orthostat structure is rectangular, with dimensions 4.8 m by 2.9 m with walls formed by vertical orthostats 1.1 m high and 0.4 m thick (Nordiguian 1993–1994, 366). Outside the structure was a gutter and a series of holes that may have supported a frame that leaned against the side of the structure (Nordiguian 1993–1994, 367). It appears, therefore, that the structure was some kind of tank and may have been a monumental basin (Nordiguian 1993–1994, 367). Around 20 m further south is a U-shaped structure of a similar construction quality to the orthostat structure, and this was probably a nymphaeum (Nordiguian 1993–1994, 368).

Houses can be found across the site. A "villa" with floors paved with mosaics and complete with a private bath lay at the eastern end of the colonnaded street (Nordiguian 1993–1994, 359). Between this and the church were residential buildings (Nordiguian 1993–1994, 359–360) and a series of streets around 1.8 m wide running north–south. At the south of the area of settlement, an atrium house sat on top of the hill (Nordiguian 1993–1994, 360–361).

Several buildings contained equipment associated with commercial activity. Four buildings toward the eastern end of the colonnaded street contained facilities associated with the various stages of olive-oil production (Nordiguian 1993–1994, 361–366). These oil-production sites postdate the destruction of the Great Temple, as grinding stones were cut from carved column barrels from the Temple (Nordiguian 1993–1994, 372–373). Around 10 m north of the nymphaeum, a wine press was found (Nordiguian 1993–1994, 368).

There is clear evidence of occupation in the settlement area in the Byzantine period, with the church dating from the sixth century and olive-production sites, among others, reusing material from the Great Temple. How much ear-

lier there was activity on the site is difficult to determine. The excavators of the baths reported finding Roman and Byzantine pottery from the site, suggesting that the bath was in operation at the same time as the Great Temple (Nordiguian 1993–1994, 373). Hence the bath complex may have played a religious role before later becoming associated with the settlement.[4] The nymphaeum and the orthostat structure are also probably pre-Christian (Nordiguian 1993–1994, 374). It is likely that the settlement developed after the foundation of the Great Temple and then developed into a small town after its destruction.

## 7.4 The Deities and the Inscriptions

A large body of inscriptions has been recovered from Deir el-Qalaa. Some were recovered as spolia in the walls of the monastery, while others were recovered from the site or the neighbouring village of Beit Mery (Rey-Coquais 1999, 607). At present these have not been collected and published, but as noted in Chapter 2, these will be included in the forthcoming volume 8/1 of *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie*. Some of the earlier inscriptions were included in *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* volume 3. The inscriptions form the primary tool to understand cult practice at Deir el-Qalaa and to some extent at Berytus, given the paucity of archaeological remains associated with religion from the city itself.

### 7.4.1 *Jupiter Balmarcod*

The primary deity associated with Deir el-Qalaa is of course Jupiter Balmarcod, and around thirty Latin and Greek inscriptions bear his name (Rey-Coquais 1999, 609, Aliquot 2009a, 138). The divine name is clearly Semitic in origin, with the first part being Baal (Rey-Coquais 1999, 609).[5] The second part of the name has several possible interpretations. In general scholars have favoured equating "marcod" with the Semitic root rqd, meaning dancer (Rey-Coquais 1999, 609, Millar 1993, 281). Clermont-Ganneau (1888) considered mrqd a toponym meaning "a place where you dance" and hence suggesting the name referred to cult practice at this site. The earliest recorded inscription to Balmarcod is in Greek and names the deity Balmarcod Koirane Komon (Secchi 1838). Rey-Coquais (1999, 609) suggests that the Greek κωμων may derive either from κώμη, the "village," or from κῶμος, meaning a joyous and unrestrained parade. The latter interpretation clearly supports the translation of Balmarcod as "Lord of

4 At Baalbek there is also a large bath complex close the Temple of Jupiter-Heliopolitan, as will be discussed in Chapter 9.

5 See the discussion on the name Baalbek in Chapter 5.

the Dances" (Millar 1993, 281), prompting association with Dionysus. Dussaud (1942–1943, 44 n. 4) interprets mrqd differently, suggesting that it refers to one that shakes the earth and links Balmarcod to Hadad. In a region prone to severe earthquakes as the Levant is, this interpretation has merit. In addition Dussaud (1955, 113 n. 3) notes that in one inscription, a dedication is made to Βαλμαρκωδι τῷ και Μηγριν, which he interprets as "he who is beaten (grain) on the area" and hence suggests that Balmarcod may have had a role as a protector of crops. Finally Milik (1967, 601) and Lipiński (1995, 115–116) assume that Marcod was simply the original place name for Deir el-Qalaa.

In Latin inscriptions the deity is named Jupiter Balmarcod, and the majority of the inscriptions use the formula I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo), used for Capitoline Jupiter and for Jupiter Heliopolitanus (Rey-Coquais 1999, 615). The deity's name is occasionally written in full, I.O.M. BALMARCODI, but more frequently abbreviated to BALM, BAL, or simply B (Rey-Coquais 1999, 615). In Greek, however, the deity is not equated with Zeus and is called Θεός Βαλμαρκως, hence using the predicate *theos* (Rey-Coquais 1999, 609). Both Latin and Greek inscriptions contain various epithets describing Balmarcod's sovereignty, holiness, size, ancestral character, and benevolence (Aliquot 2009a, 140). The *genius* of Balmarcod is also honoured in one inscription (CIL III.6673; Rey-Coquais 1999, 614).

How can (Jupiter) Balmarcod be interpreted? The first question is simply if there is any relationship with Baal Berit/Poseidon, whose cult is known to have been established at Berytus in the Hellenistic period as was discussed in section 4.5.2. Rey-Coquais (1999, 611–612) suggests that they are in fact one and the same. He notes the iconography of Poseidon on the coins of Berytus in the Roman period as a naked god in the posture of Lysippos, with his foot on a pyramid of balls as a stylised representation of a mountain (Rey-Coquais 1999, 612). Can this be supported? There is one inscription that honours both Balmarcod and Poseidon from Deir el-Qalaa (Du Mesnil du Buisson and Mouterde 1914–1921a), and this certainly links the two but is not definitive. As noted above, some scholars have linked Balmarcod to Dionysus, but this is only based on the interpretation of Balmarcod as "Lord of the dance," and there is no other supporting evidence.

What can be said is that in the Roman period, a sanctuary was established in the hills above Berytus to a deity given the Latin name Jupiter Balmarcod. This is clearly a Semitic name, and hence we have evidence of *Interpretatio Romana* at work, equating this Semitic deity with Jupiter as a major deity. The Latin name may have been derived from the Greek βαλμαρκωδης, which itself must have been derived from the Semitic name, possibly in the Hellenistic (Aliquot 2009a, 140). Hence we may have *Interpretatio Romana* layered on top of *Inter-*

*pretatio Graeca*. All evidence for the nature of the deity, and the rites that were associated with worshipping Balmarcod, is unfortunately lost, beyond what can be interpreted from the name itself.

### 7.4.2 *Juno and Jupiter Sime*

As was discussed in section 7.2.2, it is likely that Temple B was dedicated to Juno. There are several inscriptions to Juno from Deir el-Qalaa. Many of these represent Juno as the consort of Jupiter Balmarcod (Rey-Coquais 1999, 615). Some inscriptions relate to Juno on her own, in some cases as Juno Regina and in others as Dea Juno (Rey-Coquais 1999, 616). Juno Regina is very clearly a Roman name, while Dea Juno is suggestive of a Semitic deity (Rey-Coquais 1999, 616).

In one further inscription, CIL III.6669, the transcription has been a matter of debate between scholars. Rey-Coquais (1999, 617) believes that the end of the inscription can be read as

> IOMB ET IVNONIS ET IOVIS SIME.

Hence this can be seen as a dedication to Jupiter Balmarcod, Juno, and Jupiter Sime. Nothing more is known about this second "Jupiter" deity, although Rey-Coquais (1999, 617) suggests the three deities may have formed a triad. Of course, as will be discussed extensively in Chapter 10 in the context of the "Heliopolitan Triad," many scholars have grouped Near Eastern deities together as triads based on little evidence, and so we should regard this example with the same level of scepticism. Hence it is perhaps better to regard this as an arbitrary grouping of deities on a single dedication.

### 7.4.3 *Mater Matuta*

An altar dedicated to Mater Matuta was recovered from Deir el-Qalaa. The inscription reads as follows:

> MATRI MATVTAE
> FLAVIA T[iti] FIL[ia] NICOLAIS
> SADDANE L[ucii] ANTISTII
> VETERIS EX RESPONSO
> DEAE IVONIS ARAM
> FECIT DEDICAVITQUE
> *CIL* III, 6680

Flavia, the daughter of Nicolais Seddane and possibly the wife of L. Antistius Vetus, set up the altar (Kaizer 2005, 200). As such Flavia has Roman, Greek,

and Semitic elements in her name (Kaizer 2005, 200). Clermont-Ganneau (1888, 106–107) suggests that the name Saddane could indicate that Flavia was a descendent of the royal family of Adiabene. Mater Matuta is significant because the deity was both relatively obscure and strongly associated with Rome, with a Temple in the Forum Boarium, the cattle market of Rome (Kaizer 2005, 200–201). Flavia records that the altar was set up in response to an order from Juno (Kaizer 2005, 201), who, as noted earlier, had a Temple at Deir el-Qalaa.

The obvious interpretation of this altar is that it represents a direct importation of a Roman deity into the colonia of Berytus by veterans from the Western Roman Empire. This is the position adopted by a number of scholars, including Fergus Millar (1993, 280–281), Linda Jones Hall (2004, 130), Kevin Butcher (2003, 231), and Maurice Sartre (2005, 303). As Kaizer (2005, 200) points out, Flavia made a conscious decision to set up an altar to a Roman deity using a Latin dedication; nevertheless, as he also records, the straightforward identification of Mater Matuta with a purely Roman deity is also open to question in this context.

Kaizer (2005, 201–204) notes the established link in antiquity between the Roman goddess Mater Matuta and the Greek goddess Leucothea. Indeed many of the sources relate to Leucothea as assimilated with Mater Matuta (Kaizer 2005, 202). In Ovid's *Fasti* Mater Matuta is presented as a deity associated with the sea because it is presented from a Greek perspective and because Leucothea was originally a sea goddess, while Mater Matuta seems to have been originally associated with nursing (Kaizer 2005, 202). The worship of Leucothea was well established in the Near East, and inscriptions have been recovered from the area of Rakhle on Mount Hermon (Kaizer 2005, 203). Leucothea, as a sea deity, would make perfect sense in the context of Berytus, although other sites associated with the goddess, such as Rakhle, are well inland. As Kaizer (2005, 203) points out, in one version of the myths associated with Leucothea, her daughter Melicertes-Palaemon is carried on a dolphin. The dolphin is also an established attribute of Poseidon a deity firmly associated with Berytus, as was discussed in Chapter 4. Leucothea was also the nurse of Dionysus and hence is potentially also linked to the principal deity at Deir el-Qalaa, Jupiter Balmarcod (see section 7.4.1)

To understand Mater Matuta in the context of Berytus, Kaizer (2005, 204) invokes *Interpretatio Romana*. Kaizer (2005, 204) also suggests that in turn Leucothea might be an *Interpretatio Graeca* of an indigenous deity. If Kaizer is correct, then the presence of Mater Matuta would at least indicate survival of Hellenistic elements in the Roman colony. More broadly though the key point is that it is probably too simplistic to interpret Mater Matuta as a

simple import into Berytus, as this was a site with an established Hellenistic and Phoenician past.

### 7.4.4 *Jupiter Heliopolitanus and Other Deities*

Several other deities were honoured in inscriptions recovered from Deir el-Qalaa. Given that the site is on the route over Mount Lebanon to Zahle and the Bekaa valley, it is not surprising that the Heliopolitan deities were among them. Four inscriptions naming Jupiter Heliopolitanus have been recovered from Deir el-Qalaa (Hajjar 1977, 250–256; Inscriptions 215–218). The first inscription, found on two fragments of a limestone-inscribed cippus, was dedicated to I.O.M.H., Venus (Heliopolitanus), and Mercury (Heliopolitanus) by Marcus Sentius, a freedman of Berytus, at the request of an oracle (Rey-Coquais 1999, 621, Hajjar 1977, 250; Inscription 215, CIL III.14392d). The second inscription was found in 1900, during excavations in the woods next to the monastery. This is also a limestone cippus with a dedication to I.O.M.H. alongside a crude bas-relief sculpture of Jupiter Heliopolitanus (Rey-Coquais 1999, 621, Hajjar 1977, 251–252; Inscription 216, CIL III.14392a). A third limestone cippus also has a bas-relief representation of Jupiter Heliopolitanus and a dedication I.O.M.H., although the name of the dedicant is lost (Hajjar 1977, 253–354; Inscription 217, CIL III.14392c). Finally, a fourth inscription dedicated to I.O.M.H. was found on three fragments of a limestone cippus, located close to the second cippus (Hajjar 1977, 254–255; Inscription 218, CIL III.14392b). A small marble votive altar with four sides decorated in bas-relief of different deities, one of which was likely Jupiter Heliopolitanus, may have been found at Deir el-Qalaa, although the find location is ambiguous (Hajjar 1977, 255–256; Inscription 219).

A further heavily damaged cippus found at Deir el-Qalaa shows a bas-relief of a figure in the common style of Jupiter Heliopolitanus (Rey-Coquais 1999, 622). However, the accompanying inscriptions shows only DIIS and then ADON with the start of the name of the dedicant P(ublius) Aufidius (Rey-Coquais 1999, 622). Hence the figure may represent Adonis of Byblos (Rey-Coquais 1999, 622).

A bilingual dedication to Aphrodite-Venus was recovered from the site (Rey-Coquais 1999, 620–621). This of course prompts questions as to exactly which deity is being referenced. It could be the Roman deity, Venus Heliopolitana, or a local deity, such as Astarte or Atargatis, viewed syncretically as Aphrodite-Venus.

Other dedications at Deir el-Qalaa include one to the otherwise unknown "Divine Angels",[6] to Zarephath, to the Fortune of the Colony, and to the Genius of the Colony (Rey-Coquais 1999, 622).

6 Rey-Coquais notes that it Is futile to enquire further what was meant by Divine Angels.

## 7.5 Conclusions

Deir el-Qalaa is clearly a product of the Roman period, with the construction of the large Temple dedicated to Jupiter Balmarcod taking place in either the first or second century CE. There is no evidence to suggest any early activity on the site, although this cannot be excluded. The site appears to have developed with additional Temples in the sacred area and a large body of dedications to a whole variety of different deities. Several inscriptions suggest the presence of an oracle at the site. The area to the north of the sacred area associated with the Temples had some Roman period developments, such as the bathhouse. Most of the remains in this area today are much later and postdate the destruction of the large Temple. This would suggest that a small town developed on the site in the late Roman/Byzantine period.

The sanctuary at Deir el-Qalaa was part of the colonial territory of Berytus and had a close relationship with the city. It appears to have played a role as an "out of town" sanctuary site, a convenient distance from the city itself and in a commanding location in the hills above it. The variety of deities mentioned in inscriptions suggests it played a wider role than just as the principal sanctuary site of Jupiter Balmarcod and consort Juno. Deir el-Qalaa can be seen as a "local pilgrimage" site, a place where any deity could be honoured away from the bustle of the city, yet close enough to visit on a regular basis. A high point with a commanding view of not only the city but also the sea, which clearly played an important role in daily life, especially for a city that had adopted Poseidon among its chief deities. The nature of this site seems unusual, as the neighbouring cities of Sidon and Tyre did not have similar religious sites close to the city. Byblos perhaps provides a similar "pilgrimage" experience with the Temples at Qassouba just outside the city and the Temples at Machnaqa, Yanouh, and Afqa in the Nahr Ibrahim valley. (For further details of these temples see for example Aliquot 2009a, 250–260)

The main deity, Jupiter Balmarcod, is clearly Semitic in origin. However, to try to understand the nature of the deity and link it with other known deities, such as Baal Berit/Poseidon, that are known to be associated with Berytus is fraught with difficulty and perhaps also rather simplistic. What we can say is that *Interpretatio Romana* is at work here. The case of Mater Matuta illustrates the issues nicely. Here is a relatively obscure Roman deity that many authors have simply interpreted as a direct Roman import that came with the colonists in 15 BCE. Kaizer (2005) provides an alternative interpretation in which Mater Matuta is linked to the Greek deity Leucothea. The approach to religion is ultimately an individual one and the nature of Mater Matuta is contested in the ancient world. Some ancient visitors to the sanctuary would see Mater Matuta

as the Roman deity from the cattle market of Rome, while others might see Leucothea or a Semitic deity. The same almost certainly applied to all of the deities worshipped and honoured at Deir el-Qalaa, with invidual visitors to the temples interpreting the deities in different ways.

CHAPTER 8

# The Sanctuaries of Niha and Hosn Niha

## 8.1 Introduction

Aside from Baalbek-Heliopolis itself, Niha is the largest sanctuary site in the Bekaa valley and this size, coupled with the information derived from inscriptions found at the site, point to it being an important sanctuary within the colonia. The neighbouring Hosn Niha is perhaps the best example of a village sanctuary in the Bekaa, given the information revealed by recent survey work on-site. The location of Niha and Hosn Niha were illustrated in Figure 6; Niha lies 25 km southwest of Baalbek in a side valley running down from Mount Lebanon, around 7.7 km northeast of the major Bekaa town Zahle and 13.5 km northwest of Chtaura, where the modern Beirut-Damascus highway enters the Bekaa valley.

As was discussed earlier in Chapter 1, the exact boundary of colonial territory in the Bekaa is not known, but it is known that only the northern part of the Bekaa valley was part of the colony, while the southern part was not. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that Niha lay within colonial territory, given the high-status colonial officials named in inscriptions recovered from the site. A second question then arises as to whether Niha fell within the colonial territory of Berytus or Heliopolis after the grant of *ius Italicum* to the latter under Septimus Severus. The inscription IGLS 2935, discussed in detail below in section 8.2.5, suggests that it may have fallen within the territory of Heliopolis. There is no evidence to directly link Hosn Niha to either Berytus or Heliopolis, but given its proximity to Niha, we can assume that it was similarly part of colonial territory and passed to the territory of Heliopolis under Severus.

This chapter explores the two ancient sites at Niha and Hosn Niha with particular reference to what they can reveal about life in the colonia. This provides valuable information on the nature of the colony from a context away from the otherwise dominant Berytus and Baalbek-Heliopolis. Religious practice is obviously a critical element at both Niha and Hosn Niha, although far more is known about Niha than Hosn Niha. Hence a detailed understanding of these two sites will contribute to several of the objectives outlined in this book. The chapter is organised as follows, with section 8.2 discussing Niha, section 8.3 reviewing Hosn Niha, and section 8.4 concluding.

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FIGURE 18 View of the platform/ancient sanctuary
YASMINE 2009

## 8.2 Niha

The sanctuary site at Niha lies above the modern village, spanning the two sides of a seasonal river between the two steep slopes of the valley (Yasmine 2009, 143). There are four main structures within the sacred area. The first structure is a platform that some archaeologists believe may be Hellenistic, situated close to the crossing of the axes of both Temples. The second and third structures are the Small Temple (B), situated on the east bank of the river and the Great Temple (A), situated on the west bank of the river and southwest of Temple B. The final structure is a small ruined building to the northwest (Aliquot 2009a, 300–303, Krencker and Zschietzschmann 1938, 105–121). At the northern end of the site, the river is covered by monumental blocks (Yasmine 2009, 143).

### 8.2.1 *Platform / Ancient Sanctuary*

The platform is located close to the point in which the axes of the two Temples cross and is illustrated in Figure 18. The platform is sited close to perennial springs (Yasmine 2009, 143). Votive monuments, including an offering table and a pedestal with a carving of a figure, were found when the area was excavated (Aliquot 2009a, 303). Aliquot (2009a, 303) suggests the figure is Atargatis, while Yasmine (2009, 143) believes it is a representation of a Tyche. The structure was discovered during works on the site in the period 1946–1975, but the archaeological site report has not been published. Yasmine (2009, 143) reports that objects dating from prior to the first century CE were recovered when the platform was

FIGURE 19 Temple B viewed from the south
PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR

excavated, as well as some later objects. Hence Yasmine (2009, 143) believes this to be the first structure on the site and to date to the Hellenistic period. However, Aliquot (2009a, 303) sees no evidence to suggest that the platform predates the two Temples and may be similar to the votive monuments seen at Deir el-Qalaa (see section 7.2.4). The structure seems to have been destroyed in an earthquake and was then left untouched until rediscovered by the DGA (Yasmine 2009, 143).

### 8.2.2 *Small Temple* (*B*)

The Small Temple is orientated to the south and is approximately parallel to the stream (Steinsapir 2005, 75). The Temple as completed is a tetrastyle prostylos with a width of 12 m and length of 27.5 m to the prostylos (Yasmine 2005, 308). Figure 19 shows the Temple from the south. The Temple has no podium but sits on a platform that has been used to level the site (Aliquot 2009a, 302). The Temple had a large doorway on the axis and a smaller doorway on the right (Aliquot 2009a, 302). A raised adyton platform covers the northern one-third of the cella, with a central staircase rising up to it (Yasmine 2005, 308). There is no evidence of a crypt under the structure or under the adyton (Aliquot 2009a, 302).

Water sources near the Temple were drained via pipes and run into different areas of the Temple (Yasmine 2009, 143).

There is good evidence that the Temple was constructed initially as an ante Temple. Yasmine (2005, 308–309) analysed the Temple construction in detail and hhas demonstrated that two separate length units were used in its construction. The cella is based on a unit of length 54 cm, which Yasmine (2005, 308) compares to the Babylonian length unit of 55 cm and the Egyptian cubit of length 52.5 cm. The exterior dimensions to the cella to the antes is then 22 by 44 units and hence follows Vitruvian design principles (Yasmine 2005, 309). The colonnade at the front of the Temple is based on a unit of 29.47 cm, which is approximately one Roman foot (Yasmine 2005, 309). This base unit is used to give the column base of 4 units and intercolumniation of 6 units. There is other evidence from the structure to indicate that the colonnade was added later, including differences in paving and an error of 14 cm in the central axis of the cella versus that of the colonnade (Yasmine 2005, 309). Hence it appears that the Temple was initially constructed as an ante Temple, and then the colonnade was added later as additional monumentalisation.

On stylistic grounds the Small Temple appears to be have been constructed in the late first century CE (Yasmine 2009, 145, Steinsapir 2005, 75). The colonnade would have been added later. Freyberger (1999, 573) notes that the style of the Temple is Hellenistic.

Inside the Small Temple, a Latin dedication was found on a cippus to the priestess Hochmaea and Hadaranes (IGLS 2928, Rey-Coquais 1967, 196–198). A further bilingual dedication found at Niha, also dedicated to the priestess Hochmaea, associates her with Atargatis (IGLS 2829, Rey-Coquais 1967, 198). Hence it is likely that Temple B was dedicated to Hadaranes or Hadaranes and Atargatis.[1]

### 8.2.3 *Great Temple* (*A*)

The Great Temple was constructed across the river from the Small Temple on an even steeper slope, with a podium constructed to compensate for the terrain (Aliquot 2009a, 301).[2] The long podium staircase was broken into three flights, as can be seen in Figure 20 and Figure 21. The Temple opens to the east and is another tetrastyle prostylos, like the final configuration of the Small Temple

1 The inscriptions will be discussed in more detail in section 8.2.5 below.

2 It is important to note that the Temple was reconstructed from ruins by the DGA between 1946 and 1975. This can be clearly seen if one compares recent images, such as Figure 21 and Figure 22, with earlier photographs, such as those of (Taylor 1967, pl. 5–11) taken in the 1960s.

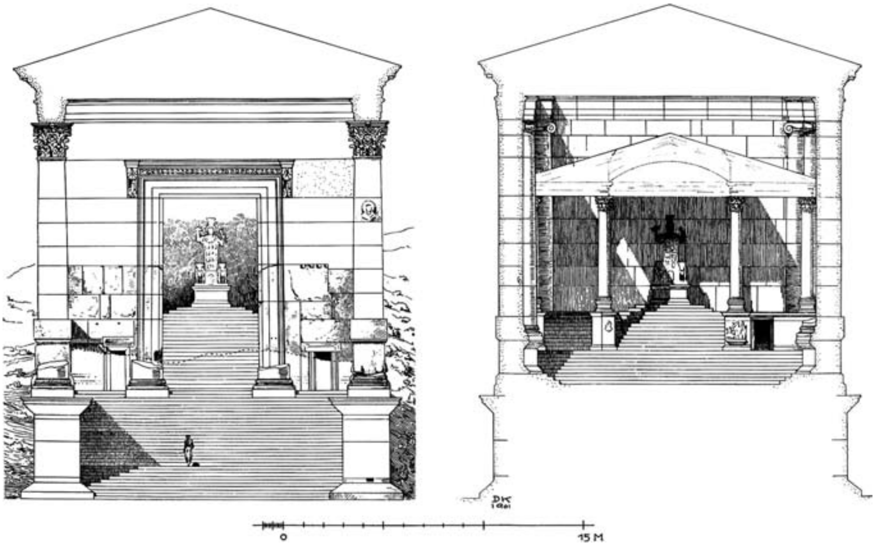


FIGURE 20 Reconstruction of the façade of the Great Temple at Niha and of the Adyton
ALIQUOT 2009

(Aliquot 2009a, 301).[3] The Temple is, however, larger than the Small Temple, with exterior dimensions of 18 m by 41 m to the front of the colonnade and the staircase stretching a further 17 m (Aliquot 2009a, 300, Krencker and Zschietzschmann 1938, 106–115). The columns of the colonnade were Corinthian, and the narthex was framed by two antes with pilasters (Aliquot 2009a, 301). The right antes had a bas-relief bust of a god with a halo, as can be seen in Figure 21, while the left has a wreath decoration. The cella had a large central door with two smaller side doorways on either side of it. The two smaller doorways gave access to staircases that led to the upper levels of the Temple (Aliquot 2009a, 301). The left-hand door also provided access to the Temple interior, and there is evidence of a grill to close off the interior when the door was open (Aliquot 2009a, 301). The lintel of the main door shows a bas-relief carving of an eagle with a wreath in its beak that is flanked by winged victories on both sides, as can be seen in Figure 23. The two victories are asymmetric, with different postures. The exterior of the cella walls is smooth, while the interior had six Ionic integrated columns (Aliquot 2009a, 301).

The rear cornice of the pediment of the Temple has three carved figures, a man surrounded by two victories (Fani 2009, 154). The man is standing on a pedestal and is dressed in a tunic and cloak (Fani 2009, 154). The figure has two

3 Note that (Yasmine 2009, 143) suggests that the Temple was in antis.

FIGURE 21 The exterior of the Great Temple at Niha
PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR

semicircular projections on his head corresponding to hair and a corona (Fani 2009, 154). In the left hand, the man holds a circular object, either a hook or a wreath, while in the right hand, he holds either a branch or an ear of corn (Fani 2009, 154). The presentation of the figure suggests that he is a priest (Fani 2009, 161). Either side of the figure are winged victories with different postures, an asymmetric design as found on the lintel of the main door and discussed above (Fani 2009, 154).

The adyton covered the western end of the cella and was formed of a high platform with two flights of stairs, as can be seen in Figure 22. The first flight of stairs spanned the cella and was divided into three by stone banisters. The second flight of stairs to the platform spans only the left and centre of the cella, with an entrance to the crypt on the right-hand side. The top platform would have held the cult statue in the centre and was covered by a canopy supported by six Corinthian columns. A reconstruction of this can be seen in Figure 20 (Aliquot 2009a, 301). The stone banisters dividing the staircase are decorated with a carved bas-relief of a wreath with a bust in the centre. On the left-hand side of the cella, alongside the adyton staircase, is another bas-relief of a lion face. The crypt runs underneath the top platform of the adyton and is U-shaped with a barrel-vaulted roof.

A one-twenty-fourth-scale architectural model of the adyton was found in the ruins of a building to the north of the Temple, possibly the building discussed in section 8.2.4 below (Will 1985, Kalayan 1971). The model has a number of Greek inscriptions that probably represent corrections and changes to the design (Will 1985, 387–388). The model was obviously used before and during construction. As will be discussed in Chapter 9, an architectural model of the theatre at Baalbek-Heliopolis has also been recovered, and the use of models in both locations suggests that the same architects that constructed buildings at Baalbek-Heliopolis may have constructed the Great Temple at Niha.

The adyton-shrine is common in Roman Temples in Syria, and the adyton at the so-called Temple of Bacchus at Baalbek-Heliopolis is similar to that in the Great Temple at Niha.[4] Will (1959) identifies three subtypes of Syrian adyton: Palmyrene, Heliopolis/Lebanese, and Hauranais. Both the Great Temple and Niha and the so-called Temple of Bacchus at Baalbek-Heliopolis fall within the second category (Will 1959, 372). Both have a covered shrine on a podium at the end of the cella covering around one-third of the area of the cella. The Temples have a three-part division in the design of the adyton, with the cult

4 See Chapter 9.

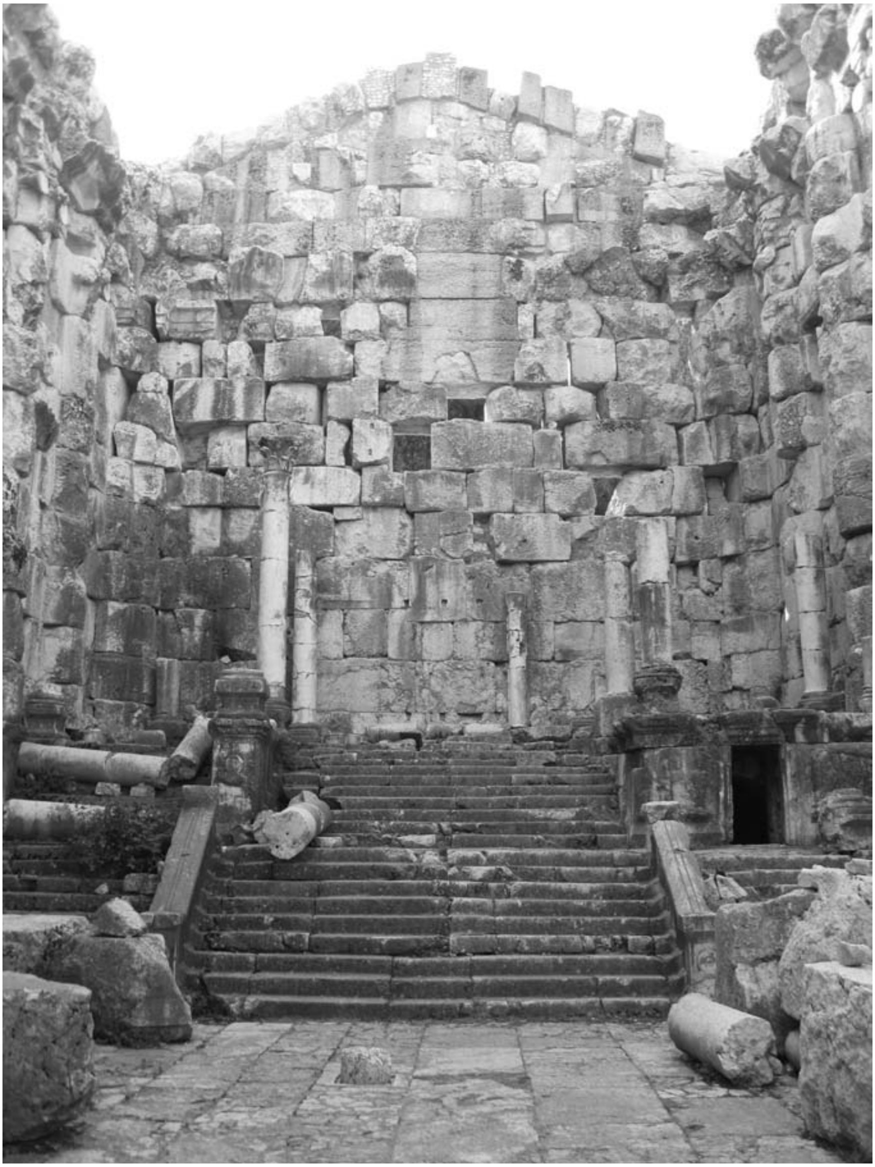

FIGURE 22 The interior and remains of the adyton of the Great Temple at Niha
PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR

FIGURE 23 The lintel of the main door to the Great Temple at Niha. The bas-relief carving shows an eagle with a wreath in its beak and is flanked by winged victories.
PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR

statue occupying the centre (Will 1959, 372–373). In effect the adyton design is a "building within a building," and Will (1959, 375) believes this may have its origin in sanctuaries, with a small shrine sitting within a temenos enclosure.

On the right side of the adyton is the bas-relief panel illustrated in Figure 24. The identification of the figures in the carving has been a matter of debate. There are three figures: on the left there is a winged youth riding an animal; in the centre is a figure, potentially female, holding a torch in the right hand; and on the right is male figure wearing pantaloons and a conical hat (Steinsapir 2005, 76–77). The figure with the hat is pouring a libation with the right hand and holds a bunch of leafy branches in the left hand (Steinsapir 2005, 77). The figure on the right is the easiest to identify with general acceptance that this is a priest (Steinsapir 2005, 77, Aliquot 2009a, 302, Rey-Coquais 1992, 252–258) and, as discussed below, the same form of dress appears in a bas-relief carving outside the Temple as well. The central figure has been identified as a goddess, a priestess, a devotee, or a god sheathed in a style like that associated with Jupiter-Heliopolitan (Rey-Coquais 1992, 252–258, 1987, Steinsapir 2005, 77, Aliquot 2009a, 302). The figure on the left has been seen as a

FIGURE 24 The bas-relief panel from the right side of the adyton at the Great Temple of Niha
PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR

young god riding on a ram, perhaps Mercury Heliopolitanus, Eros riding on a bull, or just a winged youth (Aliquot 2009a, 302, Steinsapir 2005, 77, Rey-Coquais 1992, 252–258). In reality the panel is very worn, and it is difficult to say with any certainty what is represented beyond the priest figure on the right.

Two water sources surround the Great Temple, and a complex system of water pipes is used to channel this water (Yasmine 2009, 143). A compensating basin was used to control the flow of water to the Temple (Yasmine 2009, 143).

The Temple is mostly constructed from moderately sized stone blocks. However, a number of blocks are of massive size, including some from the antes of around 20 tonnes, and the corners of the pediment at around 30 tonnes (Will 1966, 728–729). Clearly these are still much smaller blocks than those use in the podium extension at Baalbek, which weigh around 560 tonnes each.[5] Nevertheless, there is still an element of monumentality in the design of the Temple.

5 See Chapter 9.

A wide range of dates has been given for the construction of the Great Temple by different archaeologists. Krencker and Zschietzschmann (1938, 106–115) date it to the beginning of the second century, while Will (1966, 729) suggests a date around 200 CE. Freyberger (1999, 573) suggests a date for the main structure of the Temple in the second half of the second century and a date in the first half of the third century for the adyton.

The attribution of the Temple is unknown, but some scholars have attempted to use the adyton panel described above as evidence (Aliquot 2009a, 302). As noted above in section 8.2.2, the deities worshipped at Niha are known to be Hadaranes and Atargatis, and hence it seems clear either that the two Temples were each dedicated to one of the two gods or that both were dedicated to both.

### 8.2.4 *Building*

The ruins of a small building were reported by Krencker and Zschietzschmann (1938, 118–119) to the northwest of Temple B. This may be the same building in which the adyton model of Temple A, described above, may have been found (Aliquot 2009a, 302–303). If so Aliquot (2009a, 302–303) believes this was an annex to store Temple furnishings.

### 8.2.5 *Epigraphic Evidence and Bas-Reliefs*

The epigraphic evidence and carvings from Niha provide considerable information on the nature of the sanctuary and associated settlement. Eighteen inscriptions are recorded in *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie* (Rey-Coquais 1967), with half the inscriptions in Latin and half in Greek, and a number of bilingual inscriptions. Associated with some inscriptions are bas-relief carvings, providing some information on the nature of religious practice at Niha but also cultural and stylistic information.

The most imposing bas-relief carving from Niha stands on the left side of the podium of the Great Temple at Niha and shows a male priest. It is accompanied by two Greek inscriptions, and this is illustrated in Figure 25. The figure is a priest, as is clear from the clothing, which consists of a long tunic with belt and a conical hat topped by a crescent (Rey-Coquais 1967, 201–202, Steinsapir 2005, 76), similar to that on the bas-relief panel in the Temple interior. The priest carries a bundle of leafy branches in the left hand and pours a libation with the right. The priest carries busts of male and female deities on the chest area of the tunic, and given other evidence from the site, it seems probable that these are Hadaranes and Atargatis. The carving has been dated as early as the Antonine period because of the style of the beard, but Freyberger (1999, 573) suggests that comparison with other monuments suggests a date in the early third century and comparable with the date of the Temple construction.

FIGURE 25 The bas-relief and inscription of the priest Narkisos that stands at the entrance to the Great Temple at Niha
PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR

The inscription is dedicated to the priest Narkisos, son of Kasios, who was an honorary council member of the colony of Heliopolis and was carved by another priest, Tiberius (IGLS 2935, Rey-Coquais 1967, 201–202). Narkisos was clearly a person of high rank within the colony who served as high priest at Niha (Freyberger 1999, 572). Nevertheless, his name is clearly not Roman, nor is that of his father, and hence it seems likely that Narkisos was a leading member of an indigenous family (Rey-Coquais 1987, 200). The inscription is signed by Tiberius, a man with a Roman name, although Rey-Coquais (1987, 200) suggests he may also be from the indigenous population. It would seem therefore that by the early third century members of the indigenous population had achieved Roman citizenship and high rank within the colony at Heliopolis. Furthermore, there are clear links between Niha and Heliopolis, suggesting that the sanctuary was of regional importance rather than just being a village sanctuary.

There are two inscriptions to the priestess Hochmaea from Niha. The first is from a votive cippus found in the Small Temple (IGLS 2928, Rey-Coquais 1967, 196–198). The cippus has bas-relief carvings on two faces; one is a bust of a veiled woman, and the other is a standing deity, Hadaranes, flanked by two animals, which could be rams, goats, or bulls (Rey-Coquais 1967, 196, Steinsapir 2005, 76). The deity's pose takes the form familiar from statues of Jupiter Heliopolitanus with a cuirass on the body and a calathos on the head. The veiled woman is presumably the priestess Hochmaea. Hadaranes is shown in a form that has been clearly influenced by the cult of Jupiter Heliopolitanus and again shows strong links between Niha and Heliopolis (Steinsapir 2005, 76).

The two inscriptions are in Latin (IGLS 2928):

> A. Hocmaea virgo dei Hadaranis quia annis (viginti) panem non edidit iussu ipsius dei v(otum) l(ibens) a(nimo) s(olvit)
>
> B. Deo Hadrani Hochmaea v(otum) s(olvit).

Hochmaea was a virgin priestess of the god Hadaranes who took a vow to abstain from eating bread for twenty years. Abstinence from eating bread is unusual compared to abstinence from wine (Rey-Coquais 1967, 197). The cippus has been dated to the second half of the second century (Rey-Coquais 1967, 198).

Hochmaea is also honoured on a limestone stele, probably her tombstone. The inscription is bilingual, with different Latin and Greek texts (IGLS 2929, Rey-Coquais 1967, 198):

A. Sex(tus) Allius Iullus / vet(eranus) monumen/tum Ochmaeae / virgini vati / deae Syr(iae) Nihat(enae) / fecit

B. Οχμαια παρθένος / θεᾶς Ἀταργάτεις / ἔζη ἔτη ἑκατόν

The veteran Sextus Allius Iullus set up the tombstone for the virgin priestess Hochmaea. There is no guarantee that this is the same individual honoured in IGLS 2928, but it is likely. Here Hochmaea is described as a priestess of Dea Syria Nihata, the Syrian goddess of Niha, in Latin and as Atargatis in Greek. Hence it seems likely that Hochmaea was a priestess of both Hadaranes and Atargatis and that the religious officials at Niha served both deities, as can also be inferred from the Narkisos relief discussed above. The Greek inscription also states that Hochmaea lived to be a hundred years old (Rey-Coquais 1967, 198).

A bronze votive hand was recovered from Niha and is now in the Louvre (IGLS 2930, Rey-Coquais 1967, 199). The palm of the hand contains a figure in the form of Jupiter Heliopolitanus with a panelled cuirass and a calathos on its head. Two animals flank the figure, and a Greek inscription is written on the cuff of the hand. The inscription records a dedication by Meniskos for himself, his daughters, his wife, and high slaves in his house (Rey-Coquais 1967, 199). Identification of the deity figure depends on the identification of the animals. Seyrig identifies them as rams and the figure as Mercury, Ronzevalle identifies them as calves and the figure as a young Hermes, and Dussaud believed the animals to be bulls and the figure Jupiter Heliopolitanus (Rey-Coquais 1967, 199). Does this, coupled with the possible presence of Mercury on the Temple relief discussed in section 8.2.3, provide evidence for a divine triad, as Freyberger (1999, 571) would suggest? There is no reason to believe that it does. The evidence from the Hochmaea inscriptions and from the Narkisos bas-relief suggests otherwise and that the primary deities of Hadaranes and Atargatis were worshipped as a couple. This does not preclude the worship of other deities within the religious sanctuary, as was the case at Deir el-Qalaa.[6]

A base, or possibly a lintel, recovered from Niha has the following Latin inscription, in which the *pagus Augustus* set up a dedication to Dea Suria of Niha, (IGLS 2936, Rey-Coquais 1967, 202–203): “Dea Suria Nihathe(na) / pro Aug(usto), Pagus / Augustus fecit / et dedica[vi]t.” The term *pagus* refers to a Roman administrative district, although the form the district takes varies regionally (Rey-Coquais 1987, 199). Here it probably refers to a group of Roman citizens settled within a native civitas and dependent on a Roman colony (Rey-

6 For more on the construction of divine triads in the Near East see Chapter 10.

FIGURE 26
The funerary stele of Gaius Claudius Marcellus, set up for his four children from Niha
IGLS 2940, REY-COQUAIS 1967

Coquais 1987, 199). These Roman citizens formed an association, the *pagus Augustus*, and it is this group that was responsible for setting up the inscription (Rey-Coquais 1967, 203). It seems clear that Niha formed an administrative district within the territory of the original colonia of Berytus. After the foundation of Heliopolis as a colonia in its own right, it seems likely that Niha remained associated with it rather than Berytus. It is also clear that Niha was a site for settlement of veterans.

A funerary stele recovered from Niha shows the busts of a couple enclosed in a wreath with a floral design above and a Latin inscription below (IGLS 2942, Rey-Coquais 1967, 207–208). The inscription shows that this is the tombstone of Quintus Vesius Petilianus and his wife. Q. Vesius Petilianus was a *flaminus Augustalus*, quaestor of the colony and decurion of Berytus. This Roman citizen and man of rank within the colonia lived in Niha with his wife and was buried there (Rey-Coquais 1987, 198). The style of the portraits suggests it can dated to the time of Hadrian (Rey-Coquais 1967, 208).

Marcellus for his four children, illustrated in Figure 26. The shape of the tombstone itself is curved at the top, and on the surface of the stele, four cone-shaped panels are carved above the names of the children. These stylised cone-shaped headstones are likely meant to represent the conical tomb monuments known as *nefesh* that were used to contain the souls of the dead (Steinsapir 2005, 77). As was noted earlier, such pyramidal monuments have been associated with Emesa and possibly the Ituraeans via the monument at Hermel. Further examples have been found at Petra and in Jerusalem (Kropp 2013, 217–221). The style is frequently associated with the Arabian Peninsula, where examples from the third and second centuries BCE have been found (Kropp 2013, 216). The individual who set up this local-style tombstone has a Roman name

and was a citizen. Only the names of three of the children can be identified: Candidus, Ménos, and Kéamos, and only one of these names is Roman (Rey-Coquais 1967, 207). So here is a Roman citizen adopting a local funerary style and using a mixture of Roman and non-Roman names for his children. Another funerary stele, for Lucius Vesius Vecundus (Rey-Coquais 1967, 209, 1987, 205), is also in the form of a *nefesh*.

There are a number of other inscriptions from Niha, including a statue of the Bacchus-Adonis type (IGLS 2933, Rey-Coquais 1967, 203) and several funerary steles. Five inscriptions in total refer to the family name Vesii either in Greek or in Latin (IGLS 2932, 2934, 2942–2944), and this family must have been one of the leading Roman citizen families that lived in Niha (Rey-Coquais 1987, 204). Another cognomen, Iullus, appears in two inscriptions (IGLS 2929 and 2939), while the family names Iulii and Celsinii appear together on one inscription (IGLS 2937).

The inscriptions from Niha provide valuable information about the two main deities, Hadaranes and Atargatis, and the priests and priestesses who supported their worship. Furthermore, the body of inscriptions has provided considerable insight into the community that lived at Niha. This was clearly a mixed community with some indigenous people and some Roman citizen settlers. Over time some of those from the indigenous community, such as Narkisos, gained high ranked in the colonia. Some whose origins lay in the veteran settlement adopted local practices and gave their children local names.

### 8.2.6 *The Village and Late Roman Activity*

The ancient village of Niha lay below the sanctuary site and in the same location as the modern village (Yasmine 2013, 701), although no survey work has been performed on the site. A quarry site lay around 1km to the north of the sanctuary (Yasmine 2013, 701). The Temples were certainly damaged in an earthquake (Yasmine 2009, 146), and regional earthquakes with magnitudes of between 6.3 and 7.5 on the Richter were known to have occurred in 19, 130, 306, 348, 525, and, of course, 551 CE, which destroyed much of Berytus, as was noted in Chapter 6 (Huijer, Harajli, and Sadek 2011, 73). There is little evidence of activity in the Byzantine period. However, the church of Saint Elias lies immediately south of the two Temples, and this may have been the location of an ancient church (Yasmine 2009, 146). Two burial caves have been found with 148 terracotta oil lamps dating to the Byzantine era, suggesting that the occupation of the village continued uninterrupted (Yasmine 2009, 146).

## 8.3 Hosn Niha

As was noted in Chapter 2, the sanctuary site at Hosn Niha lies around 2.5 km further up the valley from the sanctuary at Niha. The most visible and most studied remains are those of the Roman sanctuary, which were surveyed by Krencker and Zschietzschmann (1938) and later by Steinsapir (2005) and Yasmine (2005, 2009, 2013, 2006). The Double Sanctuary is another religious sanctuary of nonclassical design. It lies 170 m southwest of the rear of the Great Temple (A) at Hosn Niha. This building was recorded by Krencker and Zschietzschmann (1938, 135–136) but then largely ignored until reassessed by Newson and Young (2015, 2011). Below the Roman sanctuary and extending to the southwest and northeast lie the remains of a Roman period village. Bulldozing, illicit excavations, and agricultural activity have damaged the site of the village, but recent work by Newson and Young (2015, 2011) has shown that the area is perhaps less damaged than feared and has revealed considerable information from the site using basic landscape-archaeological survey. At either end of the village area lies a series of tombs of varying styles (Newson and Young 2011). Three inscriptions from Hosn Niha are included in *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syria* (Rey-Coquais 1967). Figure 8.13 illustrates the main archaeological features at Hosn Niha.

The village sits within a natural bowl at the northern end of the valley containing the village of Niha (Newson and Young 2011, 258). The site is roughly triangular shaped and occupies a steep slope running southwest. As such it occupies a sheltered location away from the winds that can blow through the Bekaa in winter and benefits from maximum sunlight (Newson and Young 2011, 259). However, the site is high, at 1350 m above sea level, and can be subject to heavy snowfall in winter (Newson and Young 2011, 259). Wadi Niha runs through the village site, and a perennial spring is associated with the Roman sanctuary (Newson and Young 2011, 259). Seasonal snowmelt streams are also present on the site (Newson and Young 2011, 259). It is likely that an ancient road, possibly Roman in origin, connected Hosn Niha to the village of Niha (Newson and Young 2011).

### 8.3.1 *Roman Sanctuary Area*

The Roman sanctuary area is situated on a natural platform that lies just below a series of jagged rock formations (Steinsapir 2005, 78). This terrace was extended in two phases and is supported by retaining walls on the south, east, and west sides (Steinsapir 2005, 78, Yasmine 2009, 135–137). The terrace has a polygonal plan and is approximately 150 m in the east–west direction and 50 m from north to south (Aliquot 2009a, 303). Figure 27 shows a view of the terrace

FIGURE 27 A view from the south of the terrace and Roman sanctuary area at Hosn Niha
PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR

from the south side. Two large quarry areas lie to the north of the terrace (Yasmine 2013, 699), and the entrance to the terrace lies on the east side (Yasmine 2009, 237).

Figure 32 shows a plan of the archaeological remains on terrace as they are today. The main structures are the Small Temple (D) and the Large Temple (A) and a small spring (E). The basilical church (B) is a late Roman construction. The terrace also has several ancillary structures: F, G, H, I, and J.

#### 8.3.1.1 First Century CE: Spring and Small Temple

The earliest structure on the terrace was a cover over the sacred spring (E), and this was the centre around which the sanctuary area grew (Yasmine 2009, 137). Yasmine (2009, 137) suggests that there may have been an archaic sanctuary close to the Small Temple, but there is no extant evidence to support this.

The Small Temple lies immediately to the east of the spring and is probably of first-century date (Yasmine 2009, 138). The building is approximately square, of dimensions 5.7 m by 5.6 m, and is a distyle in antis Ionic Temple with a pronaos and cella (Aliquot 2009a, 305–206, Steinsapir 2005, 78). The Temple faces southeast and has a single door giving access to the cella (Steinsapir 2005,

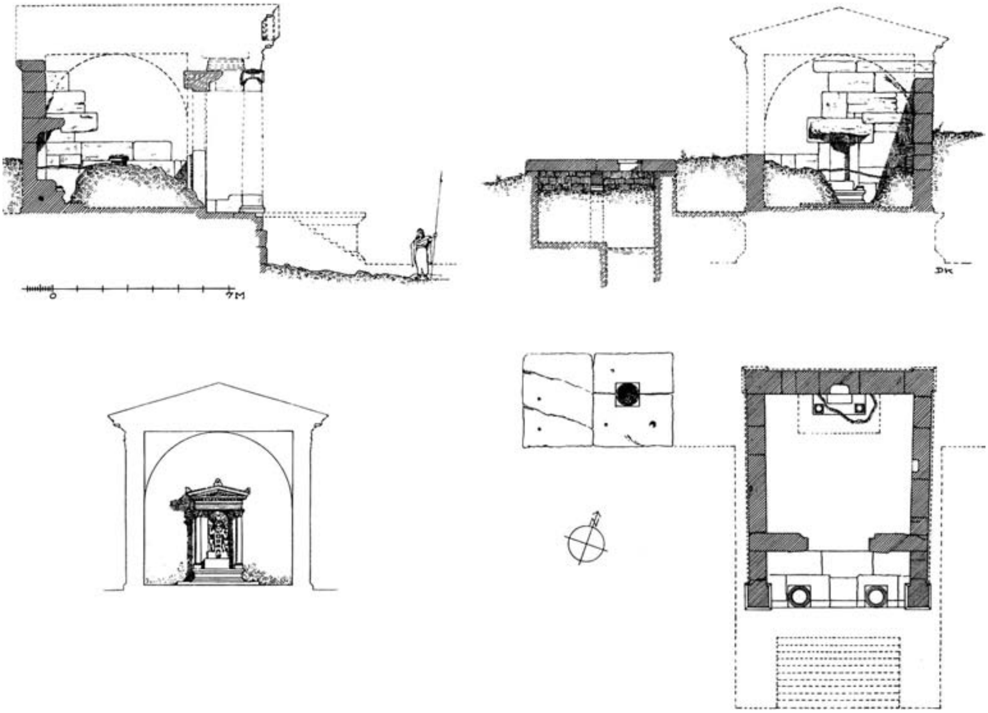

FIGURE 28 Plan and elevation of the Small Temple at Hosn Niha
KRENCKER AND ZSCHIETZSCHMANN 1938

78, Aliquot 2009a, 306). The rear wall of the cella had a niche, which was presumably to hold a cult statue, while a second smaller niche was also found in the east wall, presumably also to hold a cult object (Steinsapir 2005, 78). The Temple had no podium as such but did have an external staircase because of the steep terrain and terracing of the platform (Aliquot 2009a, 305). In addition structure H, to the north of the Small Temple, was constructed to service the needs of worshippers (Yasmine 2009, 138).

### 8.3.1.2 Second Century CE: Large Temple

The Large Temple at Hosn Niha is a tetrastyle prostylos with Corinthian columns including a pronaos and cella (Yasmine 2005, 305, Aliquot 2009a, 304). The Temple faces east and is constructed on a high podium around 37 m in length with a large monumental staircase leading up to the Temple (Aliquot 2009a, 304). The Temple itself has dimensions 14.35 m by 28.69 m at the prostylos (Yasmine 2005, 303). These dimensions are almost exactly in a one to two ratio, and so the Temple conforms to Vitruvian principles (Yasmine 2005, 304). Traces of construction marks can be seen around the structure (Yasmine 2005,

FIGURE 29 A view of the Small Temple at Hosn Niha from the east.
PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR

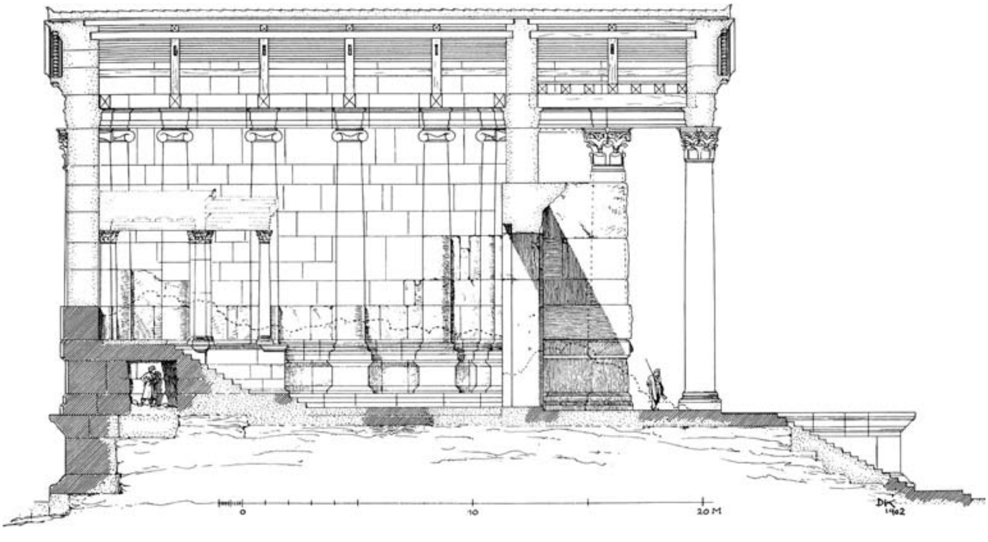


FIGURE 30 Elevation of the Large Temple at Hosn Niha
KRENCKER AND ZSCHIETZSCHMANN 1938

304). The builders have used a unit of 32.22 cm in constructing the Temple, which is an unusual size, being just larger than one Roman foot at 29.58 cm (Yasmine 2005, 305).

The prostylos also conforms to Vitruvian principles, as Yasmine (2005, 305–306) makes clear. The prostylos uses a systyle arrangement with a column diameter of four units and an intercolumniation of eight units (Yasmine 2005, 306). The middle intercolumniation distance was not specified by Vitruvius for the systyle arrangement and here is 14.5 units (Yasmine 2005, 306).

The walls of the cella have a thickness of 4 units, and some of the stone blocks are of very large size, being up to 8.3 m long (Yasmine 2005, 306, Aliquot 2009a, 304). There are two doors from the narthex into the cella, the main axial door and a side door on the right that also gave access to a spiral staircase that led to the roof of the structure (Aliquot 2009a, 304). Engaged columns were used inside the cella with Ionic capitals (Aliquot 2009a, 305). The Temple had a raised adyton at the rear of the cella with a tripartite division (Aliquot 2009a, 305). The left and centre of the cella had stairs leading up to the adyton platform, while on the right, a door led to a crypt (Aliquot 2009a, 305). The centre of the adyton platform held the cult statue, and a canopy across the width of the cella was supported by a series of Corinthian columns (Aliquot 2009a, 305). Clearly the adyton is constructed in the "Lebanese style" in the terminology of Will (1959).

The structure of the Large Temple, with its use of a high podium, a staircase leading to the roof, and a three-part adyton within the cella bears a clear resemblance to the Great Temple at Niha and to the so-called Temple of Bacchus at Baalbek-Heliopolis. The Large Temple at Hosn Niha has been dated to the second or third century (Aliquot 2009a, 305).

With the construction of the Large Temple, the terrace area was extended to the west, with staircases added to join the lower terraced area associated with the Small Temple to the higher one associated with the Large Temple (Yasmine 2013, 703). The two structures, F and G, were also added to support worship in the sanctuary (Yasmine 2009, 139).

#### 8.3.1.3 Late Roman: Church

The Large Temple may have been modified prior to its destruction in a large earthquake, probably the earthquake of 551 CE that devastated Berytus (Yasmine 2009, 140, 2013, 703). At the end of the sixth century, monumental blocks were reused to construct a Byzantine church on the sanctuary terrace in front of the remains of the Large Temple.

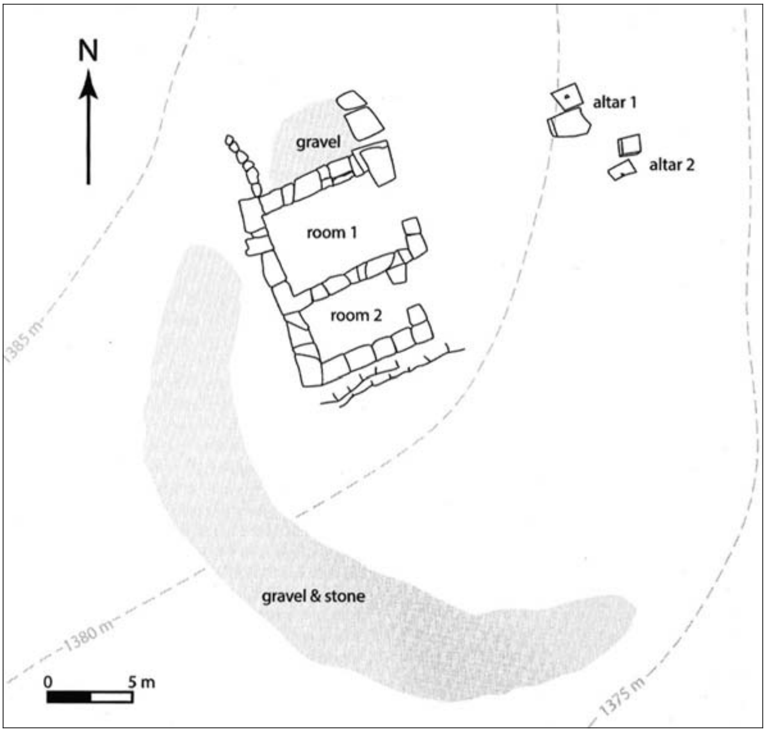


FIGURE 31 Plan of the Double Sanctuary
NEWSON AND YOUNG 2011

### 8.3.2 *Double Sanctuary*

The Double Sanctuary, HN001 in Figure 31, lies isolated from the rest of the site on a gentle slope to the northwest of the settlement (Newson and Young 2011, 264). To reach the Double Sanctuary from the village would, however, have required scaling a steep slope (Newson and Young 2011, 264).

The sanctuary consists of two rooms, both with a single entrance that faces the northeast and toward the Roman sanctuary (Newson and Young 2011, 264). The more northerly of the two rooms is larger, at 7.8 m by 5.2 m, with the southerly room slightly smaller, at 5.7 m by 3.75 m (Newson and Young 2011, 264). The structure is built from stone roughly shaped into rectangular blocks, with the blocks using drafted margins but left rough in the centre (Newson and Young 2011, 264). There is an area of compacted gravel and stones set between lines of stones on the north side of the building and an area of gravel on the south side that leads down the slope (Newson and Young 2011, 265).

Facing the entrance to the northernmost room are the remains of two altars, each consisting of a large squared stone block and an associated top block

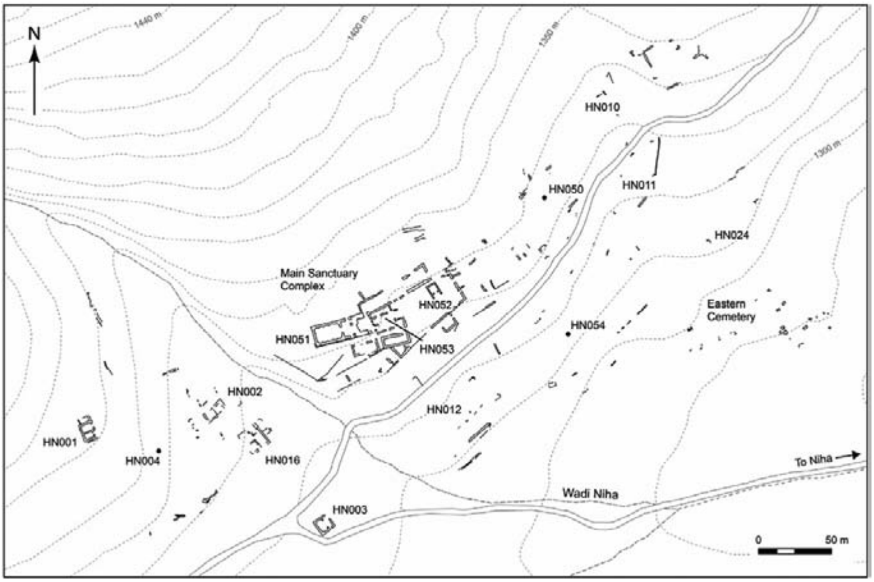


FIGURE 32 Plan of the remains at Hosn Niha
NEWSON AND YOUNG, 2011

(Newson and Young 2011, 264). The northernmost altar is the larger of the two and has carved representations of bulls heads and a garland (Newson and Young 2011, 264). The two altars are 11.56 m from the entrance to the northern room and were originally aligned parallel to each other 1.3 m apart (Newson and Young 2011, 264). The altars were upright when Krencker and Zschietzschmann (1938, 135) visited the site but have subsequently collapsed.

The structure is a religious sanctuary of some sort, although clearly not of classical design. The date of the building is unknown, although pottery found at the site by (Newson and Young 2011, 265) may provide some information on this in the future. It is impossible currently to say if the structure is contemporary with the Roman sanctuary or preceded it. However, as will become clear from analysis of the village site, there is no occupation prior to the first century CE, and it would seem likely, therefore, that the structure dates to the Roman period. Furthermore, there is a clear spatial relationship with the Great Temple, as both have the same orientation. The presence of this nonclassical sanctuary is very unusual and is the only known example from the territory of the colonia of Berytus. The sanctuary was very likely dedicated to a pair of deities, possible a divine couple with a deity and consort. As such this raises the possibility that this is another Temple dedicated to Hadaranes and Atargatis, the deities worshipped at Niha.

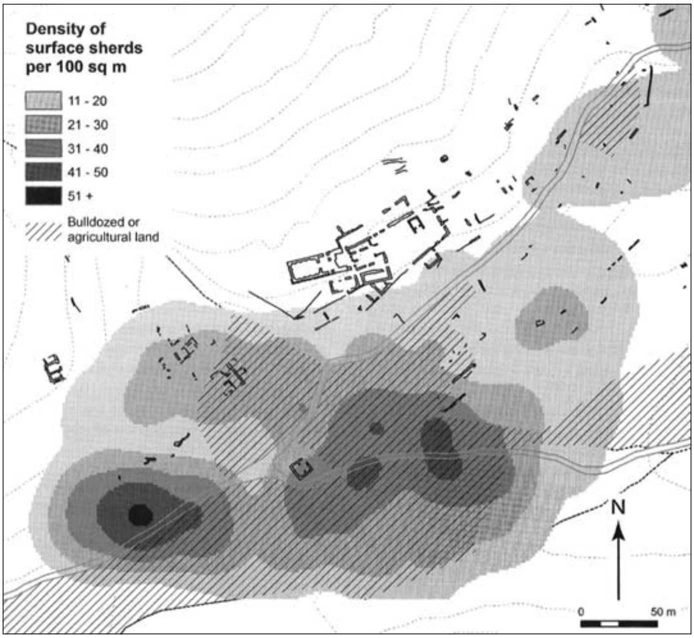


FIGURE 33 The distribution of surface sherds in 10 m squares across the site
NEWSON AND YOUNG 2011

### 8.3.3 *Village*

Newson and Young (2011, 274–275) conducted a survey of the village site at Hosn Niha using field-walking techniques to plot a distribution of surface pottery sherds. They used two approaches: one, collecting diagnostic sherds that would allow more detailed information, and two, simply counting all visible sherds. Both approaches used a grid of 10 m squares. The distribution from the counting survey is illustrated in 33. Some care must be exercised in interpreting the results, as recent bulldozing and other illicit excavation may have introduced bias; these activities have disturbed the ground and brought material to the surface. Nevertheless, it seems clear that occupation was concentrated along a line running southwest to northeast below the Roman sanctuary. It is also clear that the density of sherds was low in the areas of the Roman Sanctuary and the Double Sanctuary. The density plot provides evidence of the extent of the village area. The diagnostic sherds have confirmed the previous analysis of Yasmine (2006, 47–58) that the village was occupied from the first to the sixth century CE.

Building remains are scattered across the village area, and Newson and Young (2011, 269, Fig. 11) have mapped these using differential GPS. Several structures are visible among the remains.

FIGURE 34 The remains of the stone building HN003 looking southeast
PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR

HN003 is the most prominent building away from the sanctuaries, as it stands at the corner of the road leading up the valley and a track that leads to the area of the Roman sanctuary. The building is constructed from stone blocks of approximately 40 to 60 cm in size, with little dressing and no mortar between courses (Newson and Young 2011, 265). The building is approximately square, with dimensions 11.12 m by 11.09 m, and an entrance in the southwest wall (Newson and Young 2011, 265). There is a single internal wall inside the building. The structure is difficult to date, but it is not recent, and medieval pottery sherds were found in the vicinity (Newson and Young 2011, 265). Newson and Young (2011, 265) interpret the building as either a small fortified farmhouse or a sentry post to watch the route into the Bekaa from over the mountains.

Two buildings, HN002 and HN016, lie at the southwestern end of the village, across Wadi Niha from the Roman sanctuary and to the east of the Double Sanctuary. HN016 is a large building with dimensions 15 m by 20 m that has been partially destroyed by bulldozing activity (Newson and Young 2011, 265). The structure is of high quality and constructed from well-cut limestone ashlars (Newson and Young 2011, 265). Newson and Young (2011, 265) suggest that the building is similar to a large Byzantine farmhouse at ej-Jaouze in the southern

Bekaa valley. A stone press weight and a round stone crush basin were found to the south of the building, providing evidence of viticulture (Newson and Young 2011, 265). HN002 lies 20 m to the northwest of HN016 and is constructed parallel to it (Newson and Young 2011, 265–266). The building is simpler and smaller, having dimensions 16.3 m by 8.4 m (Newson and Young 2011, 266). The external walls were constructed from large roughly squared stones, and there are partial remains of one internal wall (Newson and Young 2011, 266).

The buildings HN010 and HN011 lie at the opposite end of the settlement area to the northeast of the Roman sanctuary (Newson and Young 2011, 267). The buildings are constructed in a sheltered area on a gentle slope, similar to the location of HN016 and HN002 (Newson and Young 2011, 267). There are a few lengths of wall remaining, along with stone rubble of roughly squared stones and door lintels (Newson and Young 2011, 267). Further remains in the area below the Roman sanctuary, such as HN012, suggest there are well-preserved structures buried beneath the hillside (Newson and Young 2011, 275).

The evidence from the distribution of surface sherds gives the rough outline of the village. The buildings HN002 and HN016 lay at one end of the village, and HN010 and HN011 lay at the other. All four were probably distinct farmhouses set within walled courtyards (Newson and Young 2011, 275). Hosn Niha was, therefore, a Roman agricultural settlement set in a high but sheltered valley with ready access to fresh water.

### 8.3.4 *Tombs*

Tombs associated with the settlement have been found at the western and northeastern ends of the site by Yasmine (2006, 15–17) and Newson and Young (2011, 267–274). Four types of tomb have been found: rock-cut tombs, single cist burials, burials in sarcophagi, and simple inhumation burials.

The rock-cut tombs have been found either cut directly into a vertical rock face or down into bedrock, where the chamber is then cut horizontally (Newson and Young 2011, 267). The form of the rock-cut tombs is of a chamber with arched recesses or arcosolia cut into the walls of the chamber (Newson and Young 2011). As will be seen in Chapter 9, several such tombs have been identified in Baalbek. HN004 is one example where the tomb has been cut into a vertical rock face, and this is situated to the northeast of the Double Sanctuary (Newson and Young 2011, 269). The tomb door has disappeared and the interior looted (Newson and Young 2011, 269). On the left side of the entrance is a shallow rock-cut shelf that may have held a funerary monument (Newson and Young 2011, 269). The interior consists of a four-sided chamber with the entrance on the south side and arcosolia cut into the remaining three walls (Newson and Young 2011, 271). HN027 is located at the eastern side of the village

in an area Newson and Young (2011, 271) designated the "Eastern Cemetery."[7] This rock-cut tomb was cut down into the bedrock, taking advantages of the terrain, with the interior taking the usual arcosolium form (Newson and Young 2011, 271). In this case one of the arcosolia has been extended with an additional shallow cist cut into the bedrock, although it is unclear if this was finished or used (Newson and Young 2011, 271). The Eastern Cemetery contains a large variety of different rock-cut tombs, ranging from large underground chambers with shaft entrances to smaller and shallow tomb types (Newson and Young 2011, 272).

Cist-type burials with a tomb carved into the bedrock are also found in the Eastern Cemetery (Newson and Young 2011, 272–273). Some, like HN040 are single graves, while others, like the pair that form HN054, have multiple cists (Newson and Young 2011, 272–273). HN050 is a group of shallow cist tombs cut into a rock outcrop to the northwest of the Roman sanctuary (Newson and Young 2011, 273). The location has a commanding view of the Roman sanctuary and the village below (Newson and Young 2011, 273). There are four tombs, three running parallel to each other, and a fourth approximately at right angles to them (Newson and Young 2011, 275, Fig. 20). Carvings on the outside of the tombs may have indicated spaces for offerings to be left (Newson and Young 2011, 273). HN050 may have been for a family group.

Sarcophagi of simple design and sarcophagi covers were found in areas around the settlement, some within the cemetery areas and some in isolated locations (Newson and Young 2011, 273–274). Some of the sarcophagi had been moved and reused in structures (Newson and Young 2011, 274). HN032, HN033, and HN034 form a group of burials in the Eastern Cemetery (Newson and Young 2011, 274). HN032 is a large sarcophagus carved from local limestone with a heavy cover that appears to be in its original location (Newson and Young 2011, 274). HN033 and HN043 are two covers for cist tombs parallel to the sarcophagus, with HN033 measuring 2 m by 2 m and covering two parallel cists (Newson and Young 2011, 274). Two simple inhumation burials were also found in the quarry area to the north of the Roman sanctuary (Newson and Young 2011, 274).

The range of burial types at Hosn Niha is very like those found at Baalbek-Heliopolis, as will become clear in Chapter 9. The burials are located on the edges of the village, as would be expected from Roman settlement. There is no evidence of the large collective tombs as found at Berytus with tombs reused for successive occupants. However, collective tombs are present in the

7 See Figure 32.

form of the arcosolium rock-cut chamber tombs, the groups of cist burials at HN050, and the sarcophagus HN032 and associated cist burials, HN033 and HN043. These small groups of tombs are strongly suggestive of family burials.

### 8.3.5 *Inscriptions*

Three inscriptions have been recovered from Hosn Niha (Rey-Coquais 1967, 210–212). Of these the most important is a colonnaded monument similar in structure to those found at Deir el-Qalaa and at Niha (IGLS 2946, Rey-Coquais 1967, 210). The core of the monument is approximately 1m square and around 1.4m high, and it originally stood on a podium (Rey-Coquais 1967, 210, Nordiguian 2005, 64–65). Each side had an arched semicircular niche for a cult statue (Nordiguian 2005, 64–65). The core was surrounded by four columns on each side, and grills protected the statues (Nordiguian 2005, 64–65). Krencker and Zschietzschmann (1938, 137) suggest a restoration of the monument with a pyramidal top, but this is regarded as questionable by Aliquot (2009a, 304). A Latin inscription is carved into the monument and shows that the monument was erected in the name of the god *Mifsenus* by nine officials (Rey-Coquais 1967, 211). The deity is not otherwise known and was presumably a local god associated with the village at Hosn Niha, and hence Aliquot (2009a, 303) suggests that the name of the village was Mifsa. This may have been the deity worshipped in the Great Temple, but there is no evidence to directly link the god to either Temple. The inscription declares that the funds for the monument were derived partially from revenues from land that had been given to the sanctuary and from donations (Rey-Coquais 1967, 211). The inscription uses the word "vicus," and Rey-Coquais (1987, 203) suggests that here this means a rural village that was a dependency of a city, either Berytus or Heliopolis. Of the nine officials that are named, four have Roman names and five have Semitic names (Rey-Coquais 1967, 211). Furthermore one of the officials with a Roman name is listed as a veteran (Rey-Coquais 1967, 211). Clearly the inscription implies that Hosn Niha is a mixed community of indigenous people and Roman citizen settlers. Some have citizenship, and some do not, but both groups have combined to construct this monument to a local deity.

The second inscription is on the top of a cippus or altar (Rey-Coquais 1967, 211–212). One side has traces of three heads, the second has the top of a veiled female head, the third contains the inscription, and the fourth side is smooth (Rey-Coquais 1967, 211). The Greek inscription shows that the stone was dedicated by the son of Gieias and his brothers (Rey-Coquais 1967, 211). The final inscription was on the top part of a cippus, and the Greek inscription simply says "Sophron" (Rey-Coquais 1967, 212). The cippus had a carving of the bust

of a figure with a veiled face and a naked child on one side and the traces of another head on a second side (Rey-Coquais 1967).

## 8.4 Conclusion: Ancient Nihata and Hosn Niha

The development of the two sanctuary sites at Niha and Hosn Niha happened in very similar ways. Both sites began with the construction of a small ante Temple during the first century. At both sites streams and springs played a prominent role and are close to the sites of the Temples. A larger Temple was constructed on both sites during the second or third century. This larger Temple was constructed at a right angle to the axis of the First Temple. Both large Temples have "Lebanese" style raised adytons, and both have staircases that provided access to the upper levels of the Temple. In addition, a "colonnaded monument" was constructed at both sites, although this style of monument is relatively common in the region and was also found at Deir el-Qalaa. The epigraphic evidence from both sites clearly shows the presence of a mixed community of individuals with Roman names and origins alongside individuals with Semitic names. Both groups are clearly involved in the development of the sanctuary sites.

Nevertheless, there are differences between the two sanctuaries. The structures at Hosn Niha are on a smaller scale than those at Niha. The Double Sanctuary at Hosn Niha is very unusual, although it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions about the structure until more is known about the date of construction. At the very least, the Double Sanctuary is suggestive of the retention of pre-Hellenistic religious practice.

There are also clear links between Niha and the city of Heliopolis. The ancient village of Nihata was a Roman administrative district within the colonia of Berytus and later was probably attached to Heliopolis after the city was granted Hosn Niha; Niha was probably a regional centre for the worship of Hadaranes and Atargatis. By contrast it appears to have been a village sanctuary associated with the surrounding settlement. At Hosn Niha the evidence from tombs suggests that funerary practice was very like that practised at Baalbek-Heliopolis and followed local Roman period norms.

CHAPTER 9

# The Religious Landscape of Baalbek in the Roman Period

## 9.1 Introduction

The central research aim of this chapter is to articulate and analyse the Roman transition at Baalbek associated with the foundation of the colonia and the later transformation of the High Roman Empire in the context of religion. As is clear from Chapter 5, the development of the first podium, long held as "Hellenistic," is certainly dated not earlier that the last quarter of the first century BCE and is associated with Herod the Great. A working hypothesis is that the construction of the Temple began after the fall of Zenodorus but before the foundation of the colony in 15 BCE and was then interrupted. This chapter then describes the changes that can be associated with the colonial foundation. Section 9.2 discusses the redevelopment of what certainly became the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus but also the Temple of the Muses a short distance away. This much smaller buliding was probably the first Roman Temple in the city and, as will be described, presents a rather jarring mix of elements from the Western Roman Empire coupled with local design elements and unique ritual practice. The key questions to address are, what can be said about change at this temporal boundary, how much change is present, and what are the implications for religious practice, if any?

The construction of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus continuited into the second and third centuries. The late second and early third centuries also saw the construction of the so-called Temple of Bacchus alongside the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, the construction of the Temple of Mercury, and further development of other areas of Baalbek, such as at Bustan al-Khan. The second half of this chapter will examine the later Roman development of Baalbek-Heliopolis from 150 CE onward.

## 9.2 Early Roman Baalbek: 15 BCE–Mid-second Century

That the early Roman period at Baalbek is marked by the construction of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus is well known. As will be described in detail later, the construction of the Temple, substructure, altars, and Great Courtyard

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FIGURE 35 The Temple of the Muses in relation to the Temple of Jupiter at Baalbek
GOOGLE

could well have taken some two hundred or more years to complete (Wienholz 2006, 274–282). As was noted above, the First Temple built after the incorporation of Heliopolis into the colonia was almost certainly the Temple now thought to be dedicated to the Muses. Other structures can also be dated to this period, including the free-standing column at Bustan el-Khan (Wienholz 2006, 283). This section analyses the development of early Roman Baalbek-Heliopolis.

### 9.2.1 *The "Temple of the Muses"*

In excavations between the 1950s and 1970s, the DGA, under the direction of Kalayan, excavated the area surrounding the so-called Venus Temple (Hoebel 2006, 161). An additional religious building was identified in the area whose remains had been covered in the medieval period. Hoebel and other members of the German archaeological team led by Margarete van Ess have identified this building as the Temple of the Muses. The so-called Temple of Venus, the Round Temple, has been dated to the first half of the third century (Wienholz 2006, 281), while the Temple of the Muses has been dated to around 1 CE (Wienholz 2006, 274). More will be said on the dating of the so-called Temple of Venus later in this chapter; however, its baroque styling leaves no doubt that the structure is late Roman. The Temple of the Muses has been dated on the basis of

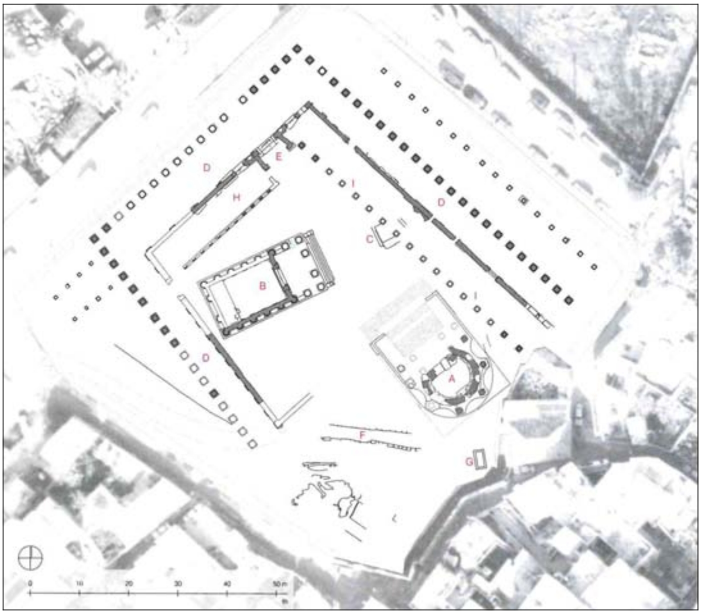


FIGURE 36 Plan of the "Venus area"
HOEBEL 2006

similarity between the stones of its podium and structures beneath the floor of the Great Courtyard, as was noted in Chapter 5, and the fact that unlike the remains of the round building at Ain Juj, the capitals have standard proportions (Wienholz 2006, 273–274, Hoebel 2006, 169). The relationship of the Temple of the Muses to the Temple of Jupiter is illustrated in Figure 35, while the Venus area is illustrated in Figure 36.

The Temple itself was pseudoperipteral in style, with the majority of the Corinthian columns of the Temple engaged with the walls of the Temple cella. Four columns spanned the width of the Temple. It is unclear whether the Temple had one or two bays in the prostasis. Today the left side of the Temple has eight columns and the right side has seven, but is not clear whether the first column base on the left side of the structure is in situ or not, and direct access to the Temple structure in order to examine the area closely has not been possible. This style of Temple was common in Italy and Gaul but not in Syria. For example, the Temple of Portunus on the banks of the Tiber in Rome was constructed in this style (Adam 1994) while the well-preserved Maison Carrée in Nimes is a hexastyle pseudoperipteros (Wilson Jones 2003, 66–68). The Maison Carrée was constructed during the lifetime of Augustus (Ward-Perkins 1981, 227). The classical architectural historian John-Bryan Ward-Perkins reports similarities in the design of the Corinthian capitals and the

Temple cella of the Maison Carrée with those from the Temple of Mars Ultor in Rome (Ward-Perkins 1981, 227).

Nevertheless there were elements that varied from these western designs. The roof was flat, despite the fact that the pediment was triangular and that the interior arrangement of the Temple suggests a hidden staircase to the roof, as has been found in Temples at Nebi Safa, Hibbariye, and Burkush (Hoebel 2014, 25).

The conclusion is that there were strong links between Baalbek and Augustan Rome at the end of the first century BCE, and these drove the main elements of the design. As will be discussed later, this link can also be seen in the contemporary development of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus. Nevertheless, there were features of the Temple of local character. Stairs leading to the roof is a design element that is repeatedly found in Temples in Lebanon. This Temple, given its early date, would be one of the first to feature this design element.

A second unique feature of the Temple of the Muses was its location. The Temple was built at a low point in the local topography and was regularly flooded until the late second century (Hoebel 2006, 171). At this point a temenos enclosure wall was built with decoration relating to the new terrain level, allowing the alluvium level to be dated to this period by the new construction, which Hoebel (2006, 172) has dated on the basis of its decoration to the second half of the second century. In fact alluvium was allowed to build up until it reached the level of the podium, around 2.5 m above the original ground level (Hoebel 2006, 172). The Temple altar was cut from the bedrock in front of the Temple (Hoebel 2006, 168) and remained visible after the buildup of alluvium. The Temple is located just below the confluence of two watercourses coming from Ain Juj and Ras el-Ain (Hoebel 2006, 173). Hoebel concludes that this decision and the consequent flooding was quite deliberate and associated with ritual activity on the site (Hoebel 2006, 174). The axis of the Temple was not parallel to that of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus. As Hoebel (2006, 174) notes the axes cross in the area of Ain Juj, raising the possibility that both this Temple and the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus were intended to be part of a larger plan. The precise environment in which the Temple was situated at the time of its construction is unclear.

The identification of the Temple as dedicated to the Muses relies upon a late inscription on the neighbouring so-called Temple of Venus (Ragette 1980, 63). This inscription honours Lupus, a citizen of Baalbek, for paying for the construction of underground drainage channels to protect the Temple of the Muses (*IGLS* 2831). As Hitzl points out (van Ess et al. 2003, 129), this inscription may in fact relate to the Round Temple it is inscribed upon. Hitzl goes on to suggest that the identification as the Temple of the Muses should be revised to be a

Temple dedicated to the Tyche of the town on the basis that Baalbek-Heliopolis is strongly associated with water, it being at the source of both the Orontes and Litani Rivers (van Ess et al. 2003, 129). Further work by Hoebel has established a much closer link between the two Temples, suggesting that, given there is no separate altar for the Round Temple, both may be dedicated to the same deity, noting as well that the Tyche and Muses were often closely associated in Syria (Hoebel 2006, 174).

Does the attribution of this Temple to Tyche make sense? To answer this question, it is necessary to briefly examine the cult of Tyche in the Near East. Tyche first emerged in the sixth or fifth century BCE in Greece before becoming firmly established throughout Greece, the Greek islands, Asia Minor, and Sicily by the fourth century BCE (Dirven 1999, 103). Tyche was depicted with a cornucopia and an oar, the latter there to guide the lives of men (Chrysostom, *Or.* 63) (Edwards 1990, 533–534). Tyche also personified the fate of the city (Dirven 1999, 103). Worship of Tyche spread throughout Syria and Judea. Depictions of Tyche have been recovered from Antioch, Harran, Petra, Palmyra, Hierapolis, Edessa, and Bosra in Syria (Dirven 1999, 1043), while in Judea, Tyche is attested at Sepphoris, Tiberias, Caesarea Maritima, Neapolis, Scythapolis, Gadara, Capitolias, Abila, Sebaste, Aelia Capitolina, Ascalon, and Gaza (Belayche 2003, 115). Of course, the Tyche of Berytus also features on coin issues, as was discussed above in Chapter 6. In a number of places in Syria, local deities or Gaddê were also present. A bilingual Greek-Aramaic inscription in Palmyra explicitly equates Gad with Tyche (Dirven 1999, 103; PAT no. 0273).[1] These deities were portrayed in images as Tyche, so, for example, a relief image of the gad Tadmor at Dura-Europos is modelled after the Tyche statue made for Antioch in the third century BCE (Dirven 1999, 102). The original statue from Antioch has a swimming figure beneath the feet of the Tyche that is thought to personify the river Orontes, and the equivalent figure beneath feet of the gad Tadmor from Dura-Europos is thought therefore to represent the Efqa Spring at Palmyra (Dirven 1999, 102). It is clear therefore that in at least two cases the Tyche/Gad is associated with rivers, although this is not surprising, given that the cities concerned lie on rivers. Syrian Tychai have also been depicted with other local additions; the Tyche of Harran was depicted with a crescent above her mural crown, for example (Dirven 1999, 104).

There is support for a Temple dedicated to Tyche at Heliopolis from a coin recovered by German excavators and now in Berlin (Sawaya 2000, Kropp 2018). The coin of Philip I and dated to 244–249 CE shows Tyche standing in a tetra-

1 Palmyrene Aramaic Texts.

style temple with an arcuated lintel. The style of the illustrated temple is broadly compatible with the Temple of the Muses.

The Temple could therefore represent the Tyche or gad of Baalbek. It is clear that in some cases these deities have been associated with water. However, no representations of Tyche have been recovered from Baalbek, so it is impossible to confirm the dedication. The Muses were also often seen as water deities and conflated with nymphs (Larson 2001, 138). It is also possible, therefore, that the early Temple was dedicated to the Muses rather than to Tyche. A further possibility is that the Temple was dedicated to a local water deity that later became associated with the Muses. All three possibilities seem equally likely.

The Temple of the Muses presents a number of contradictions. The building style itself is clearly imported from Italy or Gaul, and the only conclusion that can be drawn from this is that Roman architects were directly involved in its construction, perhaps on the instruction of Agrippa at the foundation of the colony. Yet the location of the Temple, below the confluence of two major water channels in Baalbek-Heliopolis, speaks of a local deity, as does the staircase to the roof, whether that is the Tyche as suggested above or some other local god. Allowing the Temple to flood is, as far as I am able to discern, unparallelled.

To what extent does this Temple represent continuity and change? A Temple dedicated to Tyche would not be surprising. However, the ritual elements coupled with the location would suggest some form of syncretism with a local water deity, although who that deity was is lost. The odd practice of allowing the Temple to flood might represent some continuation of earlier religious practice.[2] However, there is no evidence of any earlier religious activity on the site, and any such evidence would be buried beneath the existing Temple structures. Clearly there was a major architectural change with the construction of the new Temple. In this sense a tranformation did occur as local ritual practice was transplanted to a Roman context through Roman architecture. How much this change of built space reflects a change in belief system is impossible to tell without evidence of pre-Roman religious activity on the site. As the inscription (*IGLS* 2831) demonstrates, eventually the practice of flooding was stopped. By the fifth century, presumably knowledge of why the flooding had been allowed was lost. A change in ritual practice is therefore visible in the archaeological record during the Roman period. "Conversion" can be seen as a long-term process, where it may be the case that the construction of the Temple reflects the start of the process rather than its end.

2 As will be seen in section 9.3.6, the Temple at Ras el-Ayn has similar associations with water, being surrounded by a pool.

The location of the Temple was clearly vital. As will be discussed later in this chapter and the next, for many Temples in the Bekaa and elsewhere in Roman Syria, the natural landscape was an essential element (Steinsapir 2005). The local landscape changed with the construction of the new Temple, although how "developed" the city was and the impact the new building had is impossible to know. The neighbouring "Hellenistic" Temple podium was of significant size and considerably bigger than that of the "Temple of the Muses." Hence it would not have dominated the local area in a sense of physical presence. This was the first of many, and it was soon to be dwarfed by the reconstruction of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus.

### 9.2.2 *The Sanctuary of Jupiter Heliopolitanus*

The Sanctuary of Jupiter Heliopolitanus and its place within the landscape is critical to understanding the development of the Roman colonia in the Bekaa valley. The scale of the building is enormous; the Temple stood on a podium 13.5 m above the Great Court, with columns rising another 20 m, giving a gable some 40 m above the floor below (Ward-Perkins 1981, 316). The Great Court measured 97 m by 86 m and would have been nearly 200 m long if the Temple plan had ever been completed according to its hypothetical original design. The Temple was the largest religious building anywhere in the Roman Empire (Sader, Scheffler, and Neuwirth 1998, ix) including Rome itself, even if the Temple itself covered a smaller ground area than Greek Temples, such as that of Artemis at Ephesus (55 m by 114 m) or the later Hadrianic Temple of Venus in Rome (66 m by 136 m) (Ward-Perkins 1981, 317). As Klaus Rheidt (2006, 228) describes it, "the erection of the Temple of Jupiter and above all its extraordinarily huge podium was a megalomaniac undertaking." The size of the structure immediately suggests a building of empire-wide rather than provincial significance.

As noted earlier, recent work by Kropp and Lohmann (2011, 38–50) has demonstrated that this first podium had wing walls forming a T-shape, a clearly nonclassical design. The initial plan for the Roman Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, in contrast, seems to have been similar to that of first-century forum-Temple complex like that of Augustus, with a colonnade surrounding the Temple on three sides. Some authors have noted similarity with Temple-court schemes found in Jerusalem, Damascus, and Palmyra (Ragette 1980, 31), while Ward-Perkins draws parallels with the Herodian Temple of Augustus in Sebaste (Ward-Perkins 1981, 317).[3] Ragette (Ragette 1980) proposed a Temple-court

3 I will return to compare the design of the Temple of Jupiter-Heliopolitan to these other Temple-court schemes later in this chapter.

arrangement for the initial design of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus with a colonnade surrounding the Temple and courtyard. The presence of the unfinished podium extension suggests strongly that Ragette's proposal is correct.

To complete the colonnade, the podium had to be extended outward, beyond that of the "Hellenistic" Temple. The first stage was to demolish the wing walls and bring the podium to its current shape and allow it to be extended to the desired width. To complete this expansion, a series of large monoliths was quarried nearby and brought to the site. Three layers of monoliths would have been needed to complete the podium to the required height of 12 m (Ragette 1980, 33). Aesthetic considerations meant that the blocks needed to be four times their height lengthways, giving blocks of stone 16 m × 4 m × 4 m. There was no structural reason to use such large stones. The blocks as carved weigh around 560 tonnes each and are some of the largest building stones ever used anywhere (Ragette 1980, 33).

Fortunately a supply of limestone for the construction was quite nearby, to the west of Sheikh Abdallah Hill and 800 m to the southeast of the Temples (Massih 2006). The quarries are known particularly for a number of abandoned monoliths, including the so-called "pregnant stone," which is 4.2 m × 5 m × 20 m (Massih 2006, 76). Jeanine Abdul Massih identified four separate areas of quarrying activity in this area close to Sheikh Abdallah Hill, known as Hajjar al-Hibla (Massih 2006, 78). Of these areas, two, labelled 3 and 4 by Massih, produced monoliths (Massih 2006, 79). The quarrying activity represents the organisation of a significant number of skilled labourers to extract stone on a large scale for the Temple-building programme. Areas 1–3 show evidence of special arrangements to optimise movement through and out of the quarries (Massih 2006, 87), while sector 4 may represent a later phase of quarrying. A number of underground areas were excavated and used for various craft activities, while a blacksmith's forge has also been identified and was presumably used to make and repair tools used in stone extraction (Massih 2006, 89–91). The monoliths themselves were moved to the site using a series of wooden rollers and specially constructed ramps, of which some traces remain (Massih 2006, 80).

The podium extension and the Temple were constructed at the same time; a column drum originally intended for the Temple was reused in the podium foundations, while one of the top surfaces of a monolith was used for an architectural drawing of the Temple (Ragette 1980, 33–34). The decision to use the monoliths indicates clearly that the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus was a prestige project of the very highest order. Massih concludes that the quarries represent the influence of a central sponsor (Massih 2006, 93), a point that certainly concurs with, as the evidence from the quarries suggests, a high degree

of organised exploitation of resources. The movement of such large blocks clearly also illustrates the deployment of considerable engineering skill. The stones themselves were sometimes cut at an angle and had, therefore, to be held in place with safety devices prior to the final cutting of the stone from the bedrock (Massih 2006, 81). In the end the economics of moving such large stones seems to have proved unsustainable, and the podium extension was abandoned prior to completion (Rheidt 2006, 228). The quarries themselves contain two unfinished monoliths left in situ, although there is some evidence for further quarrying activity of smaller blocks before a final abandonment (Massih 2006, 86–87).

One recently discovered block in the Temple Mount in Jerusalem is 13 m long by 3.4 m wide and hence approaches the size of monoliths used in the podium at Baalbek (Shanks 2007, 94). Given the earlier discussion in Chapter 3 of links between Temple Mount and the first podium, the use of large monoliths in both buildings raises the prospect of some form of continuity between the first and second podium. If the first podium was contemporary with the Temple Mount, then the podium extension was probably built after the monoliths were used in Jerusalem. Nevertheless, the blocks in the Temple Mount provide a precedent for those used at the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus. It is entirely possible that construction staff familiar with Herodian monuments were used in the construction of the podium extension. As will be discussed in Chapter 5, Agrippa I or Agrippa II (*IGLS* 2759) received a dedicatory inscription suggesting continued involvement of neighbouring Roman client kings in the construction of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus.

The Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus was a decastyle peripteral Temple covering the original "Hellenistic" podium in its entirety with the outer columns placed on the edges of the earlier structure (Ragette 1980, 30). The dimensions of the Temple were, therefore, 48 m by 90 m. From ground level to the top of the cornice, the Temple stood 48 m high, with this divided among a 2 m stylobate, a 12 m podium, and the Temple (Ragette 1980, 105–106). The Temple itself had 20 m high columns and a 3.8 m entablature (Ragette 1980, 106). The columns of the Temple had a base of 1 m, a shaft of 16.6 m, and a capital of 2 m in height, with the shaft being around 2 m in diameter (Ragette 1980, 106–107). The columns were constructed in three separate drums, apart from the corner columns, which were constructed in one piece. These corner columns would have weighed around 122 tonnes (Ragette 1980, 107).

Lohmann (2014, 68) notes that the Temple podium was to have been erected with its edge 9.3 m from the Temple itself. This stands in contrast to podium Temples in Rome and the western provinces, where access to the Temple is granted only from the front (Lohmann 2014, 68). A similar podium design was

also present at the Temple of Bel in Palmyra, and the suggestion is that both may have been designed to allow circumambulation of the Temple (Lohmann 2014, 68).

The dating of the Temple structure has been based both on stylistic evidence and a graffito. Wiegand dated large parts of the decoration to the early imperial period (Wienholz 2006, 274). A Greek graffito was found on one of the fallen column drums from the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus (*IGLS* 2733). This inscription provides a precise date of August 60 CE through correspondence with the Seleucid calendar that was used in the inscription itself. The inscription was presumably added when the drum was placed in situ (Freyberger 1998, 63 n. 816). Clearly construction was at least well advanced by the middle of Nero's reign. Wienholz compares the capitals of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus with Augustan period capitals and finds some chronological separation from Augustan models (Wienholz 2006, 274). The lion-head downspouts are, Wienholz believes, dated to the second half of the first century (Wienholz 2006, 275). Wienholz concludes that the Temple was likely completed in the Flavian period (Wienholz 2006, 275), although it is not clear exactly when construction began. Work may have begun with the creation of the colonia or may indeed have been late in the Augustan period or even under Tiberius.

The Great Courtyard of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus contained two altars, now known as the "small altar" and the "large altar" (Ragette 1980, 34–35). The coins of Philip the Arab show an altar, although not clearly, pictured in front of a staircase (Hajjar 1977, 284). These altars were presumably destroyed during the construction of the Christian Basilica. If they were still standing, then they would certainly have needed removing prior to the construction of the basilica. Indeed the fact that much of both structures was reused as a foundation layer for the basilica suggests that they were largely intact immediately prior to its construction. No other motive need be directly attributed to the destruction of the two altars, although it is entirely possible that religious motivations were also a factor. After all, the basilica did not need to be constructed inside the Great Court at all, a theme I will return to in my concluding remarks.

The removal of the remains of the basilica during archaeological excavations of the early twentieth century allowed the altar remains to be examined by the French archaeological and architectural team of Collart and Coupel (Collart and Coupel 1951, Collart, Coupel, and Kalayan 1977). The altars were subsequently reconstructed for display purposes.

The small altar is usually thought to be the earlier of the two, although the dating of its construction is controversial. Kalayan (see Collart, Coupel, and Kalayan 1977, 94–103) believed that the altar was among the earliest elements

of the site, predating even the construction of the "Hellenistic" podium. Collart and Coupel were also persuaded by Kalayan's argument, which in turn was based upon the idea of a courtyard preceding the building of the "Hellenistic" podium and centred on the altar. The problem with the idea is that it presupposes that the glacis feature in the courtyard was part of an entrance to the Hellenistic or pre-Hellenistic temenos enclosure. As was discussed in the last chapter, this glacis is now believed to have been part of a Hellenistic defensive system for the earlier tell and unrelated to religious activity. Secondly, this idea also ignores the fact, noted in Chapter 3, that the remains of late Hellenistic or early Roman period houses have been identified to the north of the altars within the Great Courtyard. As noted earlier, Kalayan's suggestion of an earlier courtyard focused on the small altar lacks credibility, as does any suggestion of a very early date for the small altar. Collart et al. (1977, 94–103) then go on to suggest a second phase of building, dating the sculptural elements to the second century CE. Hence it is entirely possible that the small altar was constructed in entirety in the second century and after the large altar. Without a thorough reexamination of the small altar, a proper date cannot be assigned to it; in practice this may not be feasible given the reconstruction of the altar by Kalayan. It should also be noted in this context that the reconstruction of the altar was done incorrectly, leading to a dispute between Kalayan and Coupel resulting in Kalayan's 1979 letter in *Syria* (Kalayan 1979). Hence it is fair to say that the archaeological investigation of the small altar is problematic at best. Nevertheless, given the likely Herodian involvement in the construction of the early podium, a similar date for the small altar would seem probable.

The design of the small altar is relatively simple compared to that of the large altar. The small altar had two staircases with entrances on the east side of the structure. These staircases ran up the interior of the northern and southern sides of the "tower" and led to a platform (Collart, Coupel, and Kalayan 1977, 7). The interior of the rectangular tower was empty, 3.40 m by 4.40 m on the sides, with the long axis running north to south. No ceiling decoration is present on the structure. Imposing niches were placed on the axes of the façade (Collart, Coupel, and Kalayan 1977, 716). Collart, Couple, and Kalayan also found some rills to collect blood and water, which could be drained at the channels incised in both sides of the stairs. Hence Collart et al. believed that the altar was primarily for animal sacrifices, a reasonable conclusion in my view. The stairs were narrow, only permitting the sacrifice of small animals that could be held in the arms. The upper terrace is also narrow, showing that the area had limited access to it. The precise nature of the ritual activity that was associated with the tower altar is impossible to determine beyond the fact that it involved animal sacrifice (Collart, Coupel, and Kalayan 1977, 103).

The large altar is a massive tower with five floors, rising some 18 m above the floor of the Great Courtyard (Collart and Coupel 1951, 145). Like the small altar, there are two staircases running up to a platform on top of the structure. The stairs again run up the internal northern and southern walls of the altar, although on this side they were broken into several different flights. The large floor area on the top of the altar would, like that of the small, have been used for ceremonial purposes, and the large area would have allowed worshippers to circulate easily (Collart and Coupel 1951, 145). Ragette suggests that the staircases were carefully constructed to facilitate the movement of large numbers of people up and down the structure, noting that the ceilings of the structure were richly carved and that the stairs themselves were very worn (Ragette 1980, 34). Ragette goes on to note the significance of the position of the large altar on the axis of the Temple (Ragette 1980, 35). Furthermore, Ragette concludes that the view of the statue of the deity through the main Temple doors from the top of the altar "must have been the climax of a pilgrimage" (Ragette 1980, 35).

Collart, Coupel, and Kalayan have studied the decoration of the large altar at length. The sculpture provides evidence for the date of the structure, but perhaps more important is their analysis of the artistic styles that have been used. The style of the decoration suggests there were three teams of sculptors for the decoration of the ceiling, two schooled in the Roman style and a third who worked in a local indigenous style (Collart and Coupel 1951, 120). The first team worked in the north of the monument with a rudimentary technique; they worked on the decoration of the blocks of the corridor and the blocks of the stairs of the last floor and the ceiling of the ground floor's corridors, particularly the northern extremity of the western corridor (Collart and Coupel 1951, 120). The two other teams worked on the south side of the altar. By the flat character of its relief and composition, one can recognise the work of the second team; they worked on the southern extremity of the upper floor. The third team is recognised by the fine details and artistic qualities of their work. Decoration of stairs seem to be the work of teams two and three; the third team seems to have executed relief vegetable motifs and figures. Both these teams seem to have worked on the southern ceilings (Collart and Coupel 1951, 121).

The sculpting of ceilings in a geometrical style is a local tradition that persisted for several centuries (Collart and Coupel 1951, 125). Indeed the tradition also manifests itself at Palmyra in the Temple of Bel, although this is not a sophisticated as at Baalbek (Collart and Coupel 1951, 125). This type of ornament was later used by Muslim architects, especially in the towers of the Omayyad Palace of Qasr el-Heir el-Gharbi, discovered by Daniel Schlumberger (Schlumberger, Écochard, and Saliby 1986). Given the prevalence of the style,

it is unsuitable to use for dating. However, the Roman relief style is much more localised in time and is suitable to use to date the structure on stylistic grounds. Collart, Coupel, and Kalayan conclude, based on a comparison with the archetypal monument in Augustan style, the *Ara Pacis*, that the large altar was constructed after the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus was completed in the Flavian period (Collart and Coupel 1951, 130). Stefan Freyberger has recently proposed a slightly earlier date for the construction of the large altar, suggesting the mid-first century (Freyberger 2000).

Towers are frequently associated with religious and funerary architecture in the Near East. In the Hellenistic period, for example, the number of tower mausolea and memorials constructed in Syria and noted in Chapter 5 (Collart, Coupel, and Kalayan 1977, 56). Collart et al. (1977, 105) compared the small altar with a number of other tower structures associated with Temples in Roman Syria. They identified two broad categories, towers that may be altars and tall structures with columns on all sides. They identify the two altars in the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus with the first category. The key questions are whether or not this categorisation is valid and whether or not the two altars at Baalbek fall within it. This point is critical; if the tower altars at Baalbek could be linked to an indigenous religious practice involving the construction of tower altars, it would have a major implication for religious transformation of the site, providing strong evidence for continuity of ritual activity into the Roman period.

Collart et al. (1977, 105) list the Temple at Hosn Soleiman, Temple B at Sfiré, the tower Temple at Qalaat Fakra, the large altar at Qalaat Fakra, the small tower at Qalaat Fakra, and tower at Machnaka as comparable structures. None of these sites are within the Bekaa valley, and of these only Hosn Soleiman, Sfiré, and Qalaat Fakra are associated with Temples. There are a number of differences apparent at all of these sites when compared to Baalbek. At Hosn Soleiman, there were two monumental altars within the temenos, one on the axis and one parallel to the axis of the peripteral Temple building (Krencker and Zschietzschmann 1938, Pl. 37). Neither of these much smaller altars had the internal staircases of the altars at Baalbek. The Temple is illustrated in Figure 37. At Sfiré, a monumental tower altar lies on the axis of Temple B; however, the structure is relatively small, in keeping with the size of the Temple, which is itself modest (Collart, Coupel, and Kalayan 1977, Pl. 52–53), as can be seen in Figure 38. At Qalaat Fakra, there is a large nonclassical tower-Temple and with it an associated tower structure identified as an altar. The tower Temple, illustrated in Figure 39, is Claudian in date (Krencker and Zschietzschmann 1938) and has internal staircases similar in many respects to both tower altars at Baalbek; however, the structure is a Temple in its own right. A tower altar is associated with the building, although it lies some distance from the structure,

FIGURE 37 The Temple at Hosn Soleiman
WIKIMEDIA COMMONS, MATHAE (CC BY-SA 3.0), HTTPS://COMMONS.WIKIMEDIA.ORG/WIKI/FILE:HOSN_SULAYMAN1.JPG

FIGURE 38 The Temples at Sfire. Temple B is the smaller Temple in the foreground running parallel to the main Temple. The tower altar can be seen on the axis of the Temple.
SOURCE BRUNENBURG, 2012

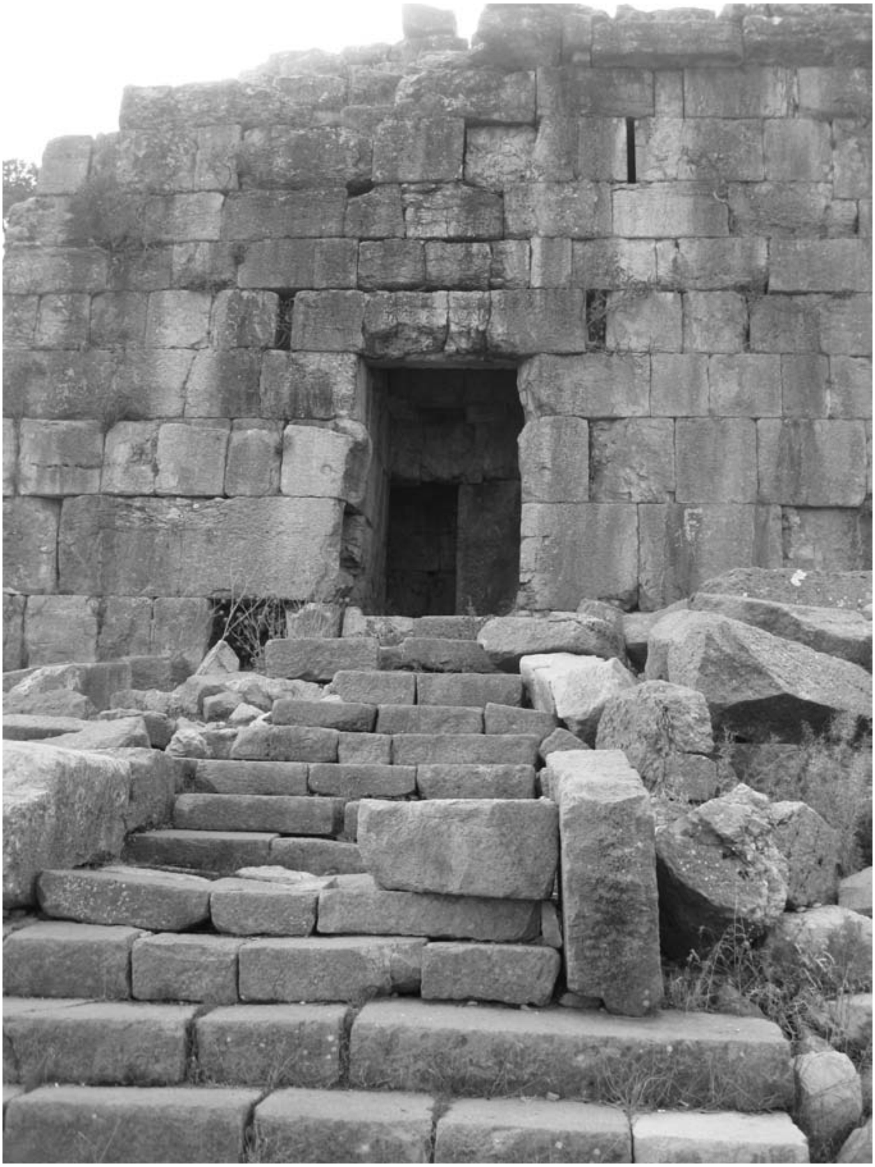

FIGURE 39 The tower Temple at Qalaat Fakra
PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR

FIGURE 40 The tower altar associated with the tower Temple at Qalaat Fakra
PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR

and it is not clear whether or not there was a temenos enclosure surrounding both it and the Temple (Collart, Coupel, and Kalayan 1977, Pl. 54). A small tower is associated with the large classical-style Temple at Qalaat Fakra. However, this structure lies off the axis and outside the temenos, and it not clear whether or not it is an altar (Collart, Coupel, and Kalayan 1977, 105, Pl. 55–56). The tower at Machnaka is a building of unusual design and consists of a square cella surrounded by a colonnade (Aliquot 2009a, 251–253). The tower is contained within two walled enclosures, with the smaller one having engaged columns on the exterior face. The structure has been interpreted as a tower altar, although it does not appear to be associated with a Temple. The tower appears to be a monument in its own right and does not resemble the tower altars at Baalbek-Heliopolis.

FIGURE 41 The tower altar associated with the classical-style Temple at Qalaat Fakra
PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR

It should be clear therefore that while there is good evidence for the presence of towers as a feature of religious architecture in the Near East, it is difficult to establish a tradition of tower altars. The function of towers in religious architecture could be significantly different from that of the tower altar, which was principally used for animal sacrifice. It is perhaps better then to suggest that the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus contains two altars "enlarged" to be towers rather than that they reflect early ritual practice that required the use of tower altars. This point is critical, as it suggests that the transformation was not a process where indigenous religious ritual was translated to Roman-style buildings coupled with a degree of syncretism. Rather this suggests the development of completely new ritual practices. Religious transformation in this context was a creative process in which elements of indigenous and Roman religious practice combined in new and original ways.

The Temple substructures are important as to what they inform us about the development of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus rather than anything specifically associated with religious activity on the site. What is clear from the analysis performed by Daniel Lohmann and Klaus Rheidt (2006) is that, as has been in evidence elsewhere, the plan for the Temple changed during con-

struction. The dating of the substructures has been placed at 75–125 CE by Wienholz (2006, 283).

The Temple substructures consist of two cryptoportici running east–west under the Great Courtyard of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, a passage running north–south linking them and a series of rooms in the space between the cryptoportici and the outer walls of the Temple on the northern and southern sides. Some of these rooms are entered from the cryptoporticus, while others are entered from outside. The substructures are illustrated in Figure 42.

According to Lohmann, nine of the rooms in the substructure show alterations to reflect a late change of plans in the walls of the Great Courtyard above (Lohmann 2006, 154). Additional walls and supporting structures were built in line with wall positions above. Some rooms on the northern side had horizontal vaults, but elsewhere in the structure these were replaced with barrel vaults (Lohmann 2006, 154–155). Two rooms on the northern side were filled after their vaults collapsed (Lohmann 2006, 155), and it was perhaps this collapse that prompted the redevelopment of the substructures. The redevelopment makes clear that there were at least two separate phases of building (Lohmann 2006, 156).

Further evidence of changes to the plan can be found in a number of small features. Two foundation stones protrude from the western wall of the cross passage (Lohmann 2006, 156). These stones are offset from the axis of symmetry, and it is not clear to which structure they relate. They may, in fact, relate to an earlier structure. An unfinished arch can be found at the northern end of the same passage (Lohmann 2006, 156–157). This arch may represent a planned-but-incomplete floor level immediately above.

The substructures provide strong evidence that the current plan of the Great Courtyard is not consistent with the original design and that the exedrae of the Great Courtyard were moved during construction, although it is difficult to be precise about the original plan. The reasoning behind the change may, as noted above, simply be a response to difficulties in construction that led to a partial collapse of either the structures above or the substructures or possibly both. It could also reflect an on-going process of redesign of which the abandonment of the podium construction was also a part.

Many authors, including Ragette (1980, 31) and Ball (2000, 322), have grouped the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus alongside Near Eastern Temple-court or temenos schemes such as the Herodian Temple in Jerusalem. However, I must question whether this assertion is correct. Hence this section provides a detailed comparison between the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus at Baalbek and four Near Eastern buildings often grouped alongside it: the Herodian Temple of Jerusalem, the Temple of Bel in Palmyra, the Temple of Jupiter-Hadad

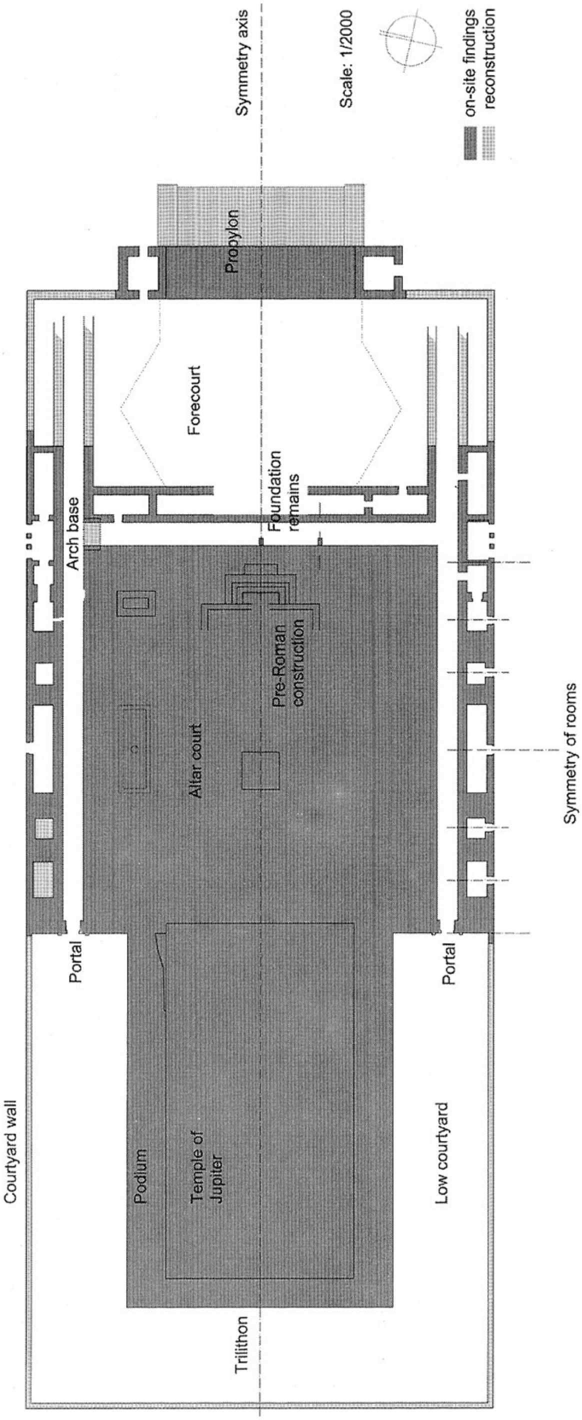


FIGURE 42 Substructures beneath the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus
LOHMANN 2006

in Damascus, and the Herodian Temple of Augustus in Sebaste (Samaria). The comparison focuses on the Temple structure and the design of the surrounding courtyard. By making this comparison I seek to understand whether or not Near Eastern models lay behind the design and hence illuminate the central question on the nature and extent of religious transformation. The decoration of the courtyard is considered in the next section, as much of this was completed long after the Temple itself had been completed.

The Herodian Temple of Jerusalem was the earliest Temple court in the Roman Near East (Ball 2000, 322). The plan of the Temple Mount is illustrated in Figure 43. Construction began in the eighteenth year of Herod's reign, around 19 BCE (Josephus, *Ant.* XV.11.1) but was not completed until long after his death in around 60 CE (Ball 2000, 322). The court of the Second Temple, the Temple Mount, covers a vast area of 15.2 ha (Ball 2000, 318), considerably larger than the area of the Temple and courtyards of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, with an area of approximately 6.5 ha (Ragette 1980, 27). As such the Herodian Temple of Jerusalem was the largest Temple court in the Roman world. The Temple platform was built by extending the existing First Temple platform (Shanks 2007, 76).

The Temple Mount was surrounded by a colonnade on the north, east, and west sides, while the southern edge of the mount was covered by the Royal Stoa (Shanks 2007, 84–85). This building was a Roman basilica with a central hall 30 m high and 14 m wide, with two side halls 15 m high and 9 m wide. The Temple building itself was relatively small at 60 cubits long by 20 cubits wide and 40 cubits high and conformed to the dimensions of the First Temple (Josephus, *BJ.* V.5.5).[4] To the east was a porch 100 cubits wide and high but only 15 cubits deep (Josephus, *BJ.* V.5.4). The building was, therefore, distinctively nonclassical in design, as is illustrated in the photograph in Figure 44 of a reconstruction built using Josephus's description as a guide. The Temple stood within a series of courtyards, to which access was restricted to Jews only (Shanks 2007, 66).

The precise location of Herod's Temple on the Temple Mount is unknown, and there have been a number of different interpretations made by different archaeologists (Shanks 2007, 99). The majority of archaeologists have placed the Temple centrally on the mount and directly under the Dome of the Rock. As such the plan of the Temple of Jerusalem was very different from that of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus at Baalbek, where the Temple building lay at one end of the Great Court. The Temple of Jerusalem itself was also much

4 One cubit is approximately 0.44 m, although there is some debate about the exact size.

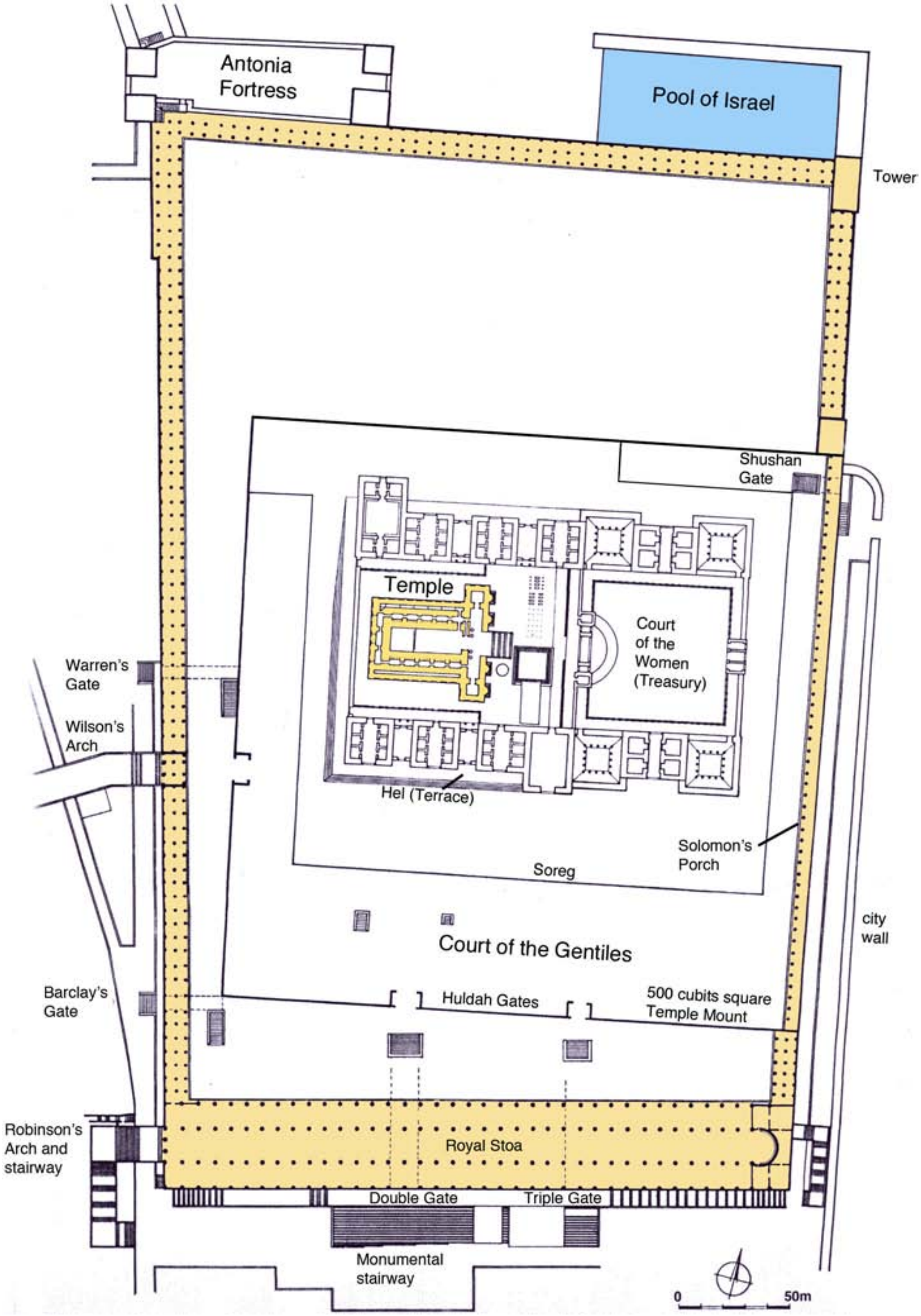


FIGURE 43 The Temple Mount in Jerusalem
© LEON RITMEYER

FIGURE 44 A model of the Second Temple produced from Josephus's description
WIKIMEDIA COMMONS, LIFSHITS (CC BY-SA 3.0), HTTPS://COMMONS.WIKIMEDIA.ORG/WIKI/FILE:MODEL_OF_JERUSALEM_IN_THE_LATE_SECOND_TEMPLE_PERIOD.JPG

smaller than that of Baalbek, so the size of the platform and courtyard was the dominant element rather than the size of the Temple building.

The Sanctuary of Bel covers a significant part of the area of the ancient city of Palmyra. The Temple of Bel lies centrally within a large temenos enclosure 210 m by 210 m square and hence covering an area not dissimilar to that covered by the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus and the Great Court at Baalbek. The Temple of Bel was dedicated in 32 CE, according to an inscription on a statue base recovered from the site (PAT 1347). Dedicatory inscriptions show that the north, east, and south colonnades were constructed between 80 CE and 120 CE, while the more elaborate western colonnade, on the inside of the main entrance and propylon, was constructed around the middle of the second century (Browning 1979, 107–108). Hence the period of construction is broadly comparable with that of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus at Baalbek.

There are few points of similarity between the Sanctuary of Bel and the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus. The Temple of Bel was placed centrally within the courtyard, similar to Herod's Temple in Jerusalem but unlike the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus. The Temple of Bel itself was nonclassical in design; the Temple axis is at a right angle to the entrance of the temenos enclosure, while the entrance to the cella is on one of the long sides facing the rear of the propylon. The intercolumn spacing is relatively wide, and a large space was

left between the columns and the cella walls, possibly to facilitate ritual procession around the cella (Browning 1979, 116). There were two adytons inside the cella, one at each end, perhaps explaining the unusual Temple design. In the courtyard an altar and a water basin were placed on either side of the axis between the propylon and the Temple entrance. The form of the altar is unknown, as only the foundation remains (Browning 1979, 112). As at Baalbek there was a pool of water within the Temple court; however, unlike Baalbek and classical Temple designs, the altar was not on the axis of the Temple.

The Temple of Bel displays a number of similarities to the Herodian Temple of Jerusalem, although it was considerably smaller. The central placement of the Temple and the colonnades are similar, and the high western colonnade resembled a basilica with a single hall, parallelling the Royal Stoa in Jerusalem. However, these features make the building quite distinct from the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus at Baalbek.

The Temple of Rome and Augustus in Sebaste (Samaria) was built by Herod in 25 BCE (Negev and Gibson 2001, 449). The Temple complex bears a strong resemblance to the final plan of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus at Baalbek, as the forecourt stops at the front steps of the Temple rather than surrounding it. The Temple plan is illustrated in Figure 45.

The Temple of Rome and Augustus was much smaller than the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus; its foundations were 23.95 m by 34.9 m, while the forecourt was 48.5 m wide just in front of the Temple steps, widening to 54 m some 60 m from the steps (Reisner, Fisher, and Lyon 1924, 170, 177). The Temple was constructed on a podium 4.4 m high, and an altar of height 1.74 m lay in front of the Temple steps and slightly off axis (Reisner, Fisher, and Lyon 1924, 174,177). Only the foundations of the Temple remained when the structure was excavated by Harvard University between 1908 and 1910, so no details of the decoration of the Temple building have been recovered.

While there is a similarity with the final design of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, it is clear that the original design intended the forecourt to surround the Temple. The scale of the Temple of Rome and Augustus is also very different, and it is difficult to see it as a forerunner of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, although its existence and truncated court may have made the abandonment of the construction of the full court at Baalbek acceptable.

The Great Umayyad Mosque of Damascus was built after the Islamic conquest, reusing the site of the Cathedral of Saint John, itself converted from the Temple of Jupiter-Hadad or Jupiter Damascene (Dussaud 1922, 225–234, Watzinger and Wulzinger 1921, 3–30, Sauvaget 1949, 315–326, Dickie 1897, 268 f.). The mosque is built within the walls of the original Temple temenos, which

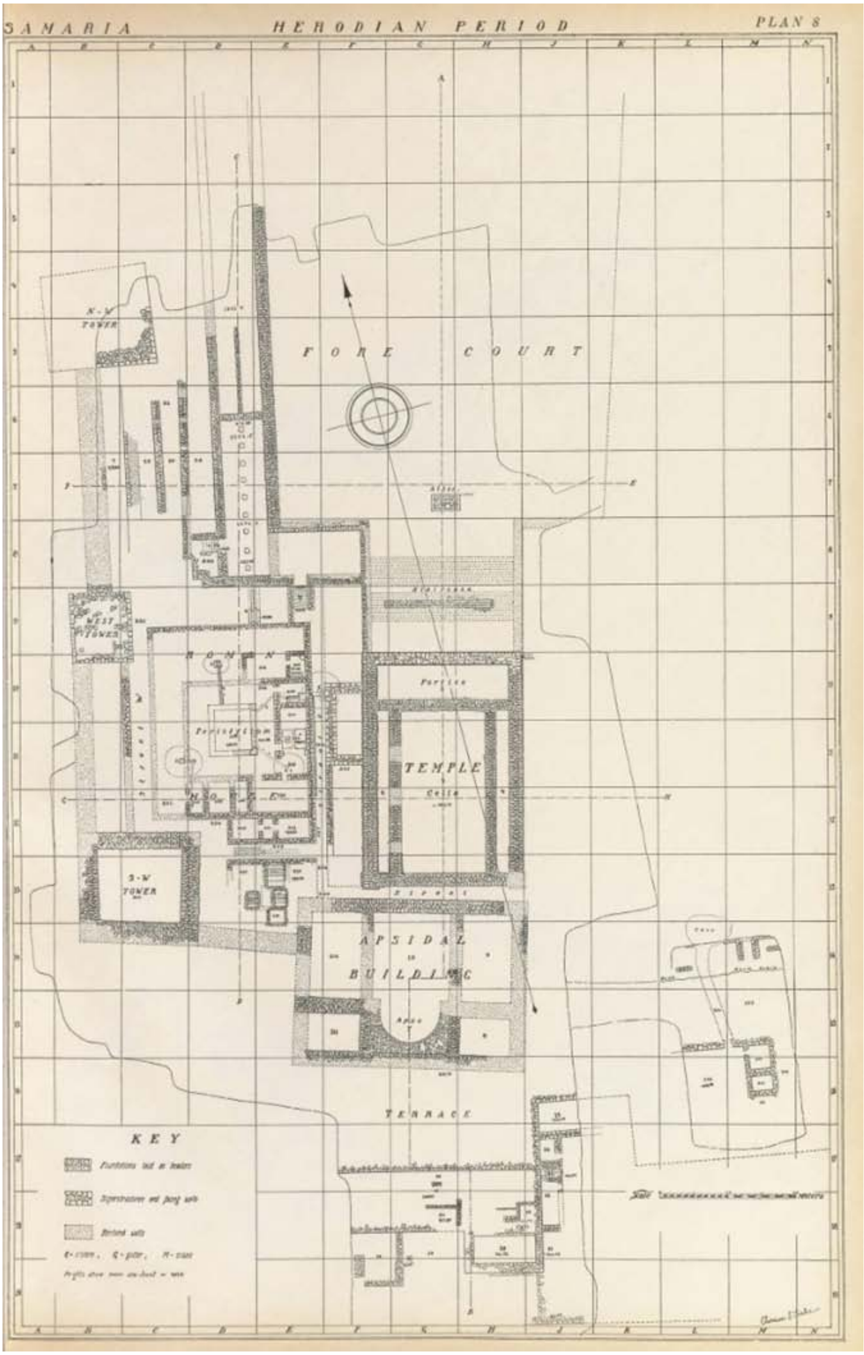


FIGURE 45 The Temple of Rome and Augustus in Sebaste
REISNER ET AL, 1924

are thus preserved, but the vast majority of the architectural details from the Temple of Jupiter have been lost (Burns 2005, 67). The temenos was colonnaded, and twenty-six columns of the mosque were reused from the Temple (Burns 2005, 67). The form of the Temple/cella is unknown, as was its position within the temenos, although reconstructions place it and the later church on the axis of the Temple and toward the western end of the temenos (Dussaud 1922, 226). The temenos was 100 m by 150 m and hence was significantly smaller than the temenos of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus. However, if the reconstructions are correct, the temenos may have resembled a smaller version of Baalbek if the Temple cella was of classical design. Given the lack of evidence for the original Temple, a degree of scepticism should be retained around such reconstructions, as they are mostly based on direct comparisons with other Temple-court schemes. At some point the corners of the temenos gained towers, although when is unclear. This gave the propylon a similar look to that of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus after the construction of the hexagonal courtyard and propylon.

The temenos of the Temple of Jupiter Damascene sat within a much larger second enclosure of which fragments of the eastern gate remain today just outside the great mosque. This gate has been dated to around 16–17 CE (Burns 2005, 65). This second enclosure measured 380 m × 310 m, an area of nearly 12 ha and just 25 percent less than the Temple of Jerusalem. The inner temenos looks very similar in some respects to the inner courtyard to the Temple of Jerusalem, although there is no evidence it acted to separate classes of visitors in the same way. The outer periblos places the Temple of Jupiter Damascene firmly in the class of large Temple-court schemes in the Near East and sets it apart from the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus at Baalbek.

The preceding sections have established that a number of major Temples in the Near East, all built in the late first century BCE or first century CE, conformed to a style with a very large court and centrally placed Temple. The key element of these schemes is the large empty courtyard, and the Temple cella itself is often small. The Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus at Baalbek does not fit cleanly into this class of religious architecture. The Temple building was clearly of Roman style and built on a massive podium. The Temple was located at one end of what was to be a large colonnaded area but one that was narrow. The space of the Great Court plays a secondary role to that of the Temple, unlike the contemporaries I have examined where the reverse is true. The example of the Temple of Rome and Augustus at Sebaste does not fit either, as this was clearly designed to have a "half-court" from the outset, while the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus was not. It seems then difficult to find a precedent for such a design in the Roman Near East. A precedent for such a design, with a

long colonnaded courtyard and a large classical-style Temple on a podium, does exist, not in the Near East but rather in forum-Temple complexes such as Forum of Augustus and the Temple of Mars Ultor in Rome.

Two structures in Rome show similar proportions and architectural design to the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, the Forum of Caesar and the Forum of Augustus. These structures are not thought of as religious buildings; the forum was, after all, a place to conduct business. Nevertheless, both forums contain a Temple at one end and have colonnaded sides. The Forum of Augustus containing the Temple of Mars Ultor was a religious and political monument, a key element of Augustus's programme of religious restoration and an expression of his authority (Stamper 2008, 130–132).

The Temple of Mars Ultor was constructed by Octaviian in the mid-30s BCE in payment for a vow made after the death of Brutus and Cassius (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 29). The Temple was dedicated in 2 BCE, despite being incomplete at the time (Stamper 2008, 130). It is useful to compare the Temple of Mars Ultor with the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus. There are a number of significant similarities between the two buildings and enough to establish the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus as a thoroughly Roman building. Firstly, the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus was built on a high podium with steps at the front; the podium was considerably taller that that of the Temple of Mars Ultor at 12 m, compared with 5 m (Stamper 2008, 132); however, the Temple of Mars Ultor was smaller overall, and the high podium is a typically Roman feature. The Temple of Saturn in Rome, built in 42 BCE, has a similarly high podium of 11 m (Stamper 2008, 114). The Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus shared the same closely spaced pycnostyle columns with the Temple of Mars Ultor, although it had ten columns across the front, compared to the eight of Mars Ultor (Stamper 2008, 133). Both Temples also had the same ratio of ten to one of column height to base (Jupiter Heliopolitanus had a height of approximately 20 m and a diameter of 2 m, while Mars Ultor had a 17.76 m height to a width of 1.77 m), in accordance with Vitruvian architectural principles. The same ratio of column-shaft height to full-column height including base and capital was used at five to six. In both cases, a simple three-step entablature was used. The design of the Corinthian columns differs between the two buildings. The Temple of Mars Ultor has a tall "abacus" between the top of the acanthus leaves and the top of the capital (Stamper 2008, 133) that is not present in those in the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, although it should be remembered that the capitals at Baalbek were probably not carved before the reign of Nero (Ragette 1980, 34). The Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus clearly followed established Roman design principles, in strong contrast to the near contemporary Temple of Bel in Palmyra.

The Great Court of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus differs in proportion from that of the Forum of Augustus. If we assume that the original plan for the colonnaded enclosure ran around the rear of the Temple building itself, then the Great Court would have been around 250 m long compared to a width of 125 m, and hence a ratio of two to one. The Forum of Augustus, conforms to the Vitruvian ideal ratio of three to two and a length of 125 m and width of 85 m (Vitruvius V.1.2). The great court of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus does contain semicircular exedras, although they are much smaller than those of the Forum of Augustus. As noted earlier, there is evidence from the substructures of a design change that may have affected the exedras, although what the original plan was is not clear from the remaining evidence.

The two tower altars remain the main nonclassical element in the design of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus. It is notable that none of the large contemporary Temples of the Near East had this feature in their design. Nor can it be said that these other monuments in general had comparative features, such as being located in high places. While this is clearly the case for the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, this was not so for the Temple of Jupiter in Damascus. The altars were clearly non-Roman elements within a Roman design, although like classical Roman Temples, both altars lay on the axis of the Temple.

The first podium with its wing walls was a distinctive nonclassical design which would imply that at its origin the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus was Near Eastern in character. However, as has already been discussed, it seems likely that the First Temple never reached completion, and that the Temple was swiftly redesigned, perhaps in a manner more suitable for the centrepiece of the new Roman colonia. The Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus was clearly based on the style of buildings at the heart of the Roman world. It would seem likely that the architect of the Temple was familiar with Augustan buildings in Rome, like the Temple of Mars Ultor. This should come as no great surprise given the preceding discussion on the neighbouring Temple of the Muses, itself a building with strong similarities to peripteral-style Temples in Rome.

As I will discuss later in this chapter, it was only in the following centuries that the design of the Temple complex evolved into something more influenced by contemporary architectural developments in the Near East at sites such as Gerasa (See for example Browning 1982, Segal 1997).

What can we understand about the landscape transformation on the site of the Roman Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus at the Hellenistic-Roman boundary? Architectural change is very clear. Another major difference between the early podium monument and the Roman Temple is one of scale. The Roman

complex was intended from its very beginnings to be considerably larger. The "Hellenistic" podium was presumably intended to host a Temple, with some space surrounding it on four sides, while the Roman Temple covered the old "Hellenistic" podium in its entirety, and a new much larger podium was certainly intended to be constructed. As we have already seen, the reconstruction of the podium seems to have been deliberately done in such a manner as to emphasise scale, with the use of stone blocks of almost unprecedented weight. The substructures of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus reveal some changes of plan to the Temple that occurred during its construction. The collapse of several rooms is perhaps more significant in the context of this discussion of the rebuilding, in that it demonstrates clearly that the Roman building programme was experiencing some structural difficulties. The Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus was the largest Temple in the Roman world; the scheme was of mammoth proportions, and yet the structural difficulties experienced and the abandonment of the podium rebuilding show that the structure was intended to be even bigger than it eventually turned out to be.

For changes of iconography and style, we have much less information available. Strictly speaking we do not know for sure which deity was worshipped on the site in the Hellenistic period. There are no early representations of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, and indeed, as Millar points out, even the Roman-period iconography of Jupiter Heliopolitanus is not entirely secure (Millar 1993, 284). We have no knowledge of the form of the original "Hellenistic" Temple building and so cannot compare the style of this building with its successor. The small altar seems relatively plain compared to the large altar, and so here we can perhaps make some meaningful comparisons, although with care, given the problems cited earlier.

Overall little is known about ritual practice on the site, apart from a description provided by the late-antique writer Macrobius. The two altars, however, do provide subtle evidence for continuity and change of ritual practice. The two altars have fundamentally the same structure, as both have two staircases, suggesting continuity of practice with some kind of ritual movement through the altar buildings, ascending one staircase and descending the other (Ragette 1980, 34). However, the staircases in the small altar were quite narrow, while those of the large altar were wide and designed to accommodate a large number of people moving up and down (Ragette 1980, 34). The stairs became quite worn as a result. This leads to the suggestion that once the larger altar was constructed, many more people were allowed to climb to the top of the altar, and perhaps a small change in ritual practice took place. As was also noted earlier, the Temple podium may have been designed to allow circumambulation of the Temple, as was the case at the Temple of Palymra. If the full Temple-court

scheme had been completed, this would also have allowed circumambulation of the Temple at a lower level in the Great Court itself (Lohmann 2014, 68). Hence both the large altar and the design of the Temple provide evidence that ritual movement through the site was important.

Can the concept of social memory offer any insight in this context? The social memory paradigm is particularly useful in the context of the reuse of sites, and so it is appropriate to apply it here. The reuse of a previous site with apparent continuity is a strong indicator that the memory of that earlier site should be retained. However, that remembrance of the past is usually considerably nuanced. We have assumed that the same deity was worshipped or was intended to be worshipped in the Temple associated with podium 1 and the later Roman Temple, that is Jupiter Heliopolitanus. The deity was thus remembered in the Roman period through the physical continuity of the Temple complex but also, potentially, through ritual activity on the site. The fact that the small altar was probably associated with the construction of podium 1 and reused in the context of the Roman Temple is a strong indication that memory of the previous Temple was preserved. As noted above, the rapid replacement by that altar with a much larger structure and the possible broadening of access that accompanied it suggests that the memory of the earlier Temple was subtly altered. In the original design, it was clearly the intention to remove podium 1 from view, although in practice this never happened. This could be interpreted as a deliberate attempt to forget the earlier structure or could simply represent a practical building decision. It remains possible that the Temple associated with podium 1 was destroyed and all building materials removed from site in an act of deliberate forgetting, although this seems unlikely.[5]

The construction of podium 1 clearly displaced domestic activities from the site of the original tell, and then the Roman Temple complex completely covered the site. This act transformed Baalbek-Heliopolis, as the residential area of the city was moved to the slopes of the hill adjacent to the tell. The Ancient Tell was forgotten beneath the growing Roman city and with it the occupation history at Baalbek over many millennia.

The transformation of the site was probably intended to emphasise continuity of ritual practice from the original podium 1 Temple, whether or not it was completed, within a more dramatic reconstruction of the site using design principle's more commonly found in the centre of the empire.

5 The absence of any earlier Temple remains is difficult to interpret and any conclusions are speculative.

## 9.3 The Later Roman Empire: From the Mid-second Century to the Fourth Century

### 9.3.1 *Later Development of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus*

The Great Courtyard and its substructures described above represent the longest single building phase of any monument at Baalbek, beginning in around 75 CE and under development until at least the first quarter of the third century (Wienholz 2006, 276,283). The decoration of the courtyard shows a wide variety of different forms, reflecting the long construction period (Wienholz 2006, 276). For example, the leaf forms include both a simple, uniform style and a rich, animated style (Wienholz 2006, 276). The Ionic cyma cornice moulding takes a typically second-century form, with the "egg" disconnected from the surrounding "shell," unlike the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, where the egg is connected to the shell. The astragal from the Great Courtyard resembles the form of those in the Temple of Bacchus, the bath house at Bustan al Khan, the so-called Temple of Venus, and the Temple of Mercury, showing them to be all roughly contemporary and later than the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus (Wienholz 2006, 277). The long walls of the Great courtyard are decorated with Syrian niches, an architectural form with a niche set into the wall and framed by engaged columns and a small pediment (Ball 2000, 390). Sometimes the niche is intended to contain a statue. These Syrian niches are a common feature of Near Eastern architecture and can also be found, for example, on the temenos walls of the Temple of Bel in Palmyra and on Propylon to the Temple of Artemis in Gerasa (Ball 2000, 329, 390). Finally, the Great Courtyard contains examples of the *Bügelkyma*, in common with most of the buildings in Baalbek (Wienholz 2006, 278). This form is found across Roman Syria but not in Asia Minor or the Roman west, demonstrating a clear regional aspect to the decoration of the Great Courtyard.

The Great Courtyard contained two water basins, positioned on either side of the two altars. The two basins are equidistant from the east–west axis of the Temple but are not symmetrical, with the northern basin positioned farther west than the southern basin. It is unclear why the basin locations are asymmetric. The location of the basins on either side of the altars prompts the suggestion they were used as part of ritual cleansing before or after an offering was made and perhaps both. The water basins contained fountains, and a Roman architectural drawing of a fountain house has been found on the outer face of the Temple substructures facing the so-called Bacchus Temple (Lohmann 2009, 2). Kalayan (1971, 269–274) believed this represented a drawing of the fountain in the Great Courtyard, although Lohmann (2009, 3–4) now suggests that this drawing relates to water basins associated with

the so-called Temple of Bacchus, as the design differs substantially from that in the Great Courtyard.

Another enigmatic feature of the Great Courtyard is the two freestanding columns placed symmetrically on either side of the large altar. As reconstructed, the southern column is carved from red granite and stands 7.14 m high, while the northern one is gray granite and 7.05 m high. The first German excavations recorded the square foundations of the columns on either side of the remains of the basilica (Wiegand, Schulz, and Winnefeld 1923, 143). The northern column base was constructed from reused statue bases, and so it was dismantled, leading to the recovery of a number of inscriptions (see Rey-Coquais 1967). Close to the northern base, a column was recovered, although it is not clear which it was, red or gray (van Ess et al. 2003, 129–130). Kalayan recovered the red column, although it is not known where from (Seyrig 1961, 118–125). The German excavators believed that the columns were associated with the later basilica (Wiegand, Schulz, and Winnefeld 1923, fig. 190; pl. 69), although Seyrig and Hajjar later dated the pedestal of the southern column to before 212 CE on the basis of an inscription (van Ess et al. 2003, 130). The two columns differ significantly, with the gray column conforming to the shape and height of the surviving columns of the porticoes (van Ess et al. 2003, 130). The red column also clearly shows evidence of it having carried a capital, while the evidence for the gray column is ambiguous (van Ess et al. 2003, 130). In essence the columns represent in microcosm the inherent problems of archaeology at Baalbek. The original excavation reports lack, detail leading to ambiguity. The columns have been reconstructed, leading to the danger of assuming the columns were originally in their current positions. In reality it is far from clear whether the reconstruction is accurate or indeed if the columns relate to the bases at all. Hence it is not really appropriate to consider these features any further.

The hexagonal courtyard between the Great Courtyard and the propylon is a unique feature of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus that is not found anywhere else in Roman architecture. Yet despite its originality, very little is known about the origins of the design of the courtyard or its date of construction. As will be discussed below, the propylon was completed sometime in the early third century, in the period encompassing the reigns of Caracalla and Philip the Arab. Ragette (1980, 37–39) suggests that the original plan was for a low-level small courtyard and propylon with a staircase up to the Great Court. A. Von Gerkan (1937, 55–59) identifies Philip the Arab as responsible for the construction of the hexagonal courtyard, while Ragette (1980, 37–39) suggests that this change was a late decision by Philip when construction of the low forecourt and propylon were already underway, in spite of the inscriptions dedicated to Caracalla and Julia Domna associated with the columns of the propylon.

Unfortunately Ragette fails to support his argument with any evidence at all, and hence his proposition is pure speculation. The precise date of construction is unclear, but given the construction dates of the propylon and the Great Court, it seems clear that the forecourt was built in the first half of the third century. What is clear is that the design of the hexagonal forecourt did change at some point. A Roman architectural drawing of the forecourt has been found in a room in the vaulted substructures (Lohmann 2009, 6–7). The drawing shows the northeastern corner of the hexagonal forecourt, drawn at a scale of 1:12.6. The drawing shows the width of the wall dividing the forecourt from the Great Court to be narrower than built, along with small differences in the design of a semicircular exedra in the Great Court and in the design of a rectangular exedra in the hexagonal forecourt (Lohmann 2009, 6–7). Hence it is clear that the design underwent some changes after the drawing was made.

It is also notable that the decision to extend the Temple court with the addition of the Hexagonal court did have an impact on the urban environment of Baalbek-Heliopolis (Lohmann 2014, 69, 71). Earlier structures, including possibly a propylon, may have lain under the site of the hexagonal courtyard (Lohmann 2014, 69). Furthermore, the original road passing in front of the Temple was blocked (Lohmann 2014, 71).

The unique feature of the forecourt is its hexagonal form, which is very rare in Roman architecture (Brown 1939, 285). This has led some scholars to suggest a Semitic (See comment in Fyfe 1936, 177) or Oriental (Ragette 1980, 39) influence. The problem with both of these suggestions is that there is little evidence for contemporary or earlier buildings incorporating a hexagonal form from the Near East. However, it is notable that the hexagon does appear in buildings at Baalbek, in particular in the ceiling of the peristyle of the so-called Temple of Bacchus (Ragette 1980, 113). In this ceiling relief, each hexagon surrounds a bust thought to depict mythological figures (Ragette 1980, 112). Donald Brown also points to the ceiling of the north adyton of the Temple of Bel in Palmyra, which shows seven planetary deities in and around a hexagon (Brown 1939, 286, Kaizer 2002, 88). Although the deity worshipped in Palmyra was Bel rather than Jupiter Heliopolitanus, the ceiling relief clearly demonstrates an association of the seven known celestial bodies with the hexagon. Furthermore, while their remains some doubt about the depiction of Jupiter Heliopolitanus (Millar 1993, 284), statues identified as Jupiter Heliopolitanus show seven celestial deities on the front of the god's garment: Sol, Luna, Mars, Mercury, Venus, Jupiter, and Saturn (Brown 1939, 286). Brown's 1937 proposal for a symbolic meaning of the hexagonal forecourt, associating it with the same seven celestial deities, is very plausible, although it has been largely ignored in more recent studies of Baalbek.

FIGURE 46 The propylon to the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus
HERETIQ, WIKEMEDIA COMMONS (CC BY-SA 2.5), HTTPS://COMMONS.WIKIMEDIA.ORG/WIKI/FILE:BAALBEKPROPYLAEA.JPG

As was noted earlier, the propylon was constructed in the first half of the third century, probably reaching completion in the reign of Philip the Arab. Hence the construction of the propylon marked the last major phase of development of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus. The propylon, illustrated in Figure 46, contains three features regarded as typically associated with Syria: the towers flanking the pediment, the arcuated lintel or Syrian arch, and the Syrian niches. As such the third-century Temple with its grand entrance is rightly grouped with the Temple of Artemis in Gerasa and the Temple of Jupiter in Damascus (Ball 2000, 352).

The origin of the arcuated lintel lies in ancient Syria (Brown 1942, 389). Bronze relief panels from the gates of Shalmaneser illustrate this motif used in the gates of a town belonging to the Unkians from Northern Syria in the ninth century BCE (Brown 1942, 389). Further examples of the arcuated lintel in gates have been found at Dur-Shurakin from the seventh–eighth century BCE and the Ishtar Gate at Babylon from the early sixth century (Brown 1942, 391). There are then no archaeologically attested examples of this motif until the construction of the façade of the gateway of the Temple of Dushara at Si' in Syria, which has been dated to between 33 and 9 BCE (Brown 1942, 391). From the second

century CE onward, the arcuated arch appeared on a number of buildings in the Near East, in particular the Temple of Jupiter Damascene, the Temple of Artemis in Gerasa, and Baalbek itself. The propylon of the Temple of Artemis was built in the last quarter of the second century (Ward-Perkins 1981, 337). The Temple of Jupiter in Damascus was constructed over a long period reaching a conclusion under Caracalla (Dussaud 1922, 233). The reconstruction of the Temple propylon there includes an arcuated arch; however, this is based at least in part on an image on a coin from the city of Abila in the Decapolis (Dussaud 1922, 230). The propylon does not survive today in the Great Umayyad Mosque, so the reconstruction is conjectural, and there is no certainty that the coin to which Dussaud refers depicts Damascus. Nevertheless, an arcuated arch did form part of the Temple of Jupiter in Damascus on the western side of the peribole, where it survives today, and this was probably constructed under Severus or Caracalla (Dussaud 1922, 232). The arcuated arch on the propylon at the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus was likely constructed after those of the Temple of Artemis in Gerasa and the Temple of Jupiter Damascene at a time when the motif was prevalent in the Near East and could be found in other locations in the empire (Brown 1942, 393–394).

The towers flanking the pediment of the propylon are also a feature associated with the Near East. The style derived ultimately from Persepolis (Ward-Perkins 1981, 486 note 64), but the first example in the classical period is the Temple of Baal-Shamin at Si', which was built in the late first century BCE (Ward-Perkins 1981, 339–341). As noted above, both the Temple of Artemis in Gerasa and the Temple of Jupiter in Damascus had towers flanking the propylon. The towers at Damascus were completed in 264/65 CE, as indicated by a Greek inscription (Dussaud 1922, 231), and therefore after those of the Baalbek Propylon. The key point is that Baalbek acquired these towers at a similar time to the construction in Gerasa and Damascus. The towers were added in the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus to "update" the façade to reflect contemporary architectural practice in the Near East. The propylon then is another example showing how the monuments at Baalbek became more Near Eastern over time, reflecting architectural developments in neighbouring Levantine cities, particularly those of the Decapolis.

As noted earlier, the Syrian niche is a feature used to decorate long walls, and it is commonly found in Near Eastern architecture. Syrian niches are also found here on the rear wall of the propylon.

### 9.3.2 *The So-called Temple of Bacchus*

Had the so-called Temple of Bacchus, illustrated in Figure 47 and Figure 48, been positioned in any other location, it would have been renowned as a major

FIGURE 47 The so-called Temple of Bacchus (Green rectangle) in relation to the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus
SOURCE GOOGLE

FIGURE 48 The so-called Temple of Bacchus viewed from the Northwest
PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR

monument in its own right. Next to the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, however, it seems small by comparison. Yet the so-called Temple of Bacchus is the best-preserved Roman Temple of its size anywhere (Ragette 1980, 41). The Temple is in fact slightly larger than the Parthenon, with a similar external colonnade (Ragette 1980, 47). The internal width of the Temple is 19 m, and its best-known feature is the monumental gateway, 6.5 m wide and 13 m high, with a partially collapsed lintel immortalised in a painting by David Roberts (1841). The Temple columns are only 2.5 m shorter than those of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus (Ragette 1980, 41). The Temple orientation is to the east, with the long axis exactly parallel to that of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus.

The dedication of the Temple remains unknown. Otto Puchstein attributed the Temple to Bacchus/Dionysus on the basis of two reliefs to the right and left of the stairway to the adyton (Ragette 1980, 43). Puchstein identified the reliefs as illustrating the birth of Dionysus and a Dionysian festival. Recent work by Kropp (2010, 246–247) has supported Puchstein's hypothesis on the basis that there is strong evidence for a distinct cult of Bacchus/Dionysus in the Bekaa. However, not all the reliefs in the Temple are consistent with this interpretation, with the underside of the lintel over the gate of the adyton showing an eagle carrying a caduceus in its claws, normally regarded as a symbol of Mercury (Ragette 1980, 44). The Temple may have been dedicated to Mercury, but this would have meant two separate Temples dedicated to the deity at Baalbek, with the second on top of Sheikh Abdallah Hill constructed not long after this Temple. The suggestion by Hajjar (1985, 170–171) that Mercury and Bacchus are linked has been dismissed by Kropp (2010, 246) on the basis that the two pieces of supporting evidence used by Hajjar do not stand up to close scrutiny. The lead figure thought by Hajjar (1985, 170–171) to depict Mercury-Bacchus with a basket on the left shoulder actually depicts Jupiter, and the small altar described by Pushtein as linking Mercury and Bacchus was interpreted differently by Winnefeld (1923, 124). A further possibility is that this Temple was in fact dedicated to Venus, as suggested by Hermann Thiersch (1926, 1–24). As Hitzl (van Ess et al. 2003, 129) points out, the Bacchic freezes would not be incompatible with this suggestion. A final hypothesis is that the Temple is in fact a Second Temple dedicated to Jupiter Heliopolitanus (Rheidt 2006, 229, Freyberger 2000, 118–119, 132–133), which in my view is a possibility. As noted above, the Temple axis is exactly parallel to that of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, and hence it shares the eastern orientation with the Temple of a sun deity. The explanation for why two Temples would be constructed to Jupiter Heliopolitanus is not clear, unless perhaps a single benefactor was responsible for the Second Temple. Today the form of any temenos enclosing

the Bacchus Temple is unclear, and while the wall of Great Court provides a strong boundary between the two Temples for ordinary visitors, the same cannot be said for the Temple substructures. The southwestern entrance to the substructures of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus is immediately to the north of the podium of the Bacchus Temple, as can be seen in Figure 42 and Figure 47, suggesting a link on some level between the two buildings. Furthermore the Roman architectural drawing of a fountain now believed to relate to the Bacchus Temple (Lohmann 2009, 3–4) was found on the outer surface of the substructures of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus facing the Bacchus Temple. Finally, the identification of the Bacchus Temple as a Second Temple of Jupiter would fit with the sixth century chronicler, John Malalas, who recorded Antoninus Pius building a Temple dedicated to Zeus at Heliopolis (Malalas *Chronographia* 11.280). As is described below, the date of Antoninus Pius is consistent with the dating of the building, although it could just as easily refer to the construction of the Great Court to the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus (Jidejian 1975, 32). However, as Kropp (2010, 247) notes the identification by Malalas was made due to phonetic similarity and hence should not be relied up to support the dating or identification of Temples at Baalbek-Heliopolis.

The Temple is difficult to date, and this again relies on analysis of the decoration (Wienholz 2006, 278). The capitals of the Temple have been dated to the post-Hadrianic period or the second half of the second century by Weigand (1914, 21), Heilmeyer (1970, 119–120), and Freyberger (2000, 95–133). However, Wiegand and Heilmeyer date the capitals of the inner order of the Temple to the first century and hence suggest a long period of construction, unless the capitals were originally carved for another building and later reused. Freyberger subsequently argued to the favour of the second century by comparing the capitals with those of the Great Courtyard. The frieze of the cella is the same as that in the Great Courtyard, although the leaves are rendered in less detail (Wienholz 2006, 279). The decoration of the abacus of the pilaster capitals bears a strong relationship with the propylon, the colonnade of Bustan el-Khan, and the Temple of Mercury but not with the Great Court (Wienholz 2006, 279). Some details of the ceiling work suggest that construction continued into the third century (Wienholz 2006, 279).

The Bacchus Temple contained a raised adyton with a canopied cover (Ragette 1980, 49). This is a distinctive feature of Near Eastern Temples and is also found in the late second century Temple A at Niha, as was noted in Chapter 8; the Temple of Bel at Palmyra; and Temples at Qasr Neba and Sfire (Ball 2000, 336–342). The adyton is of the "Lebanese" style, in the terminology of Will (1959). It is not clear whether or not the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus

FIGURE 49
Coin of Philip the Arab showing the Temple of Mercury and the monumental stairway
COLLECTION GARTH R. DREWRY. PHOTO CLASSICAL NUMISMATIC GROUP, WWW.CNGCOINS.COM, REF. CNG 69, NO. 1219.

contained a raised adyton, as the Temple cella has been completely destroyed. Ball (2000, 341) and Ward-Perkins (1981, 322) suggest that these features acted like a throne room for the deity, which might suggest that worshippers were welcomed inside the Temple cella itself. The key point here is the very distinct Near Eastern aspect of this feature. Syrian niches also decorate the interior of the Temple cella. It is clear that the Bacchus Temple, whatever its actual attribution, should be considered more typically Near Eastern than the neighbouring Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus.

### 9.3.3 *The Temple of Mercury and the Monumental Stairway*

The Temple of Mercury was, as Rheidt (van Ess et al. 2005) points out, one of the most significant monuments in Baalbek because its location on Sheikh Abdallah Hill gave it visibility from a distance.[6] The Temple and the associated monumental stairway was depicted on the coins of Philip the Arab, as can be seen in Figure 49. Today, however, all architectural remains of the Temple have disappeared, and hence analysis of the building décor relies exclusively on photographic evidence from the 1960s (See van Ess et al. 2005, 119) and some information from both the German excavation (Wiegand, Schulz, and Winnefeld 1921, 45) and Daniel Schlumberger, who identified the stairway in the 1930s (Schlumberger 1939, 25–33). More recent work by van Ess et al. has recovered information on the likely structure of the Temple and the temenos (van Ess et al. 2005). The attribution as the Temple of Mercury is relatively certain and is attested by dedications to the deity and a damaged fragment of a sculpted figurine (Hajjar 1977, 348).

The partially conjectural reconstruction of the Temple by Klaus Rheidt (van Ess et al. 2005) suggests it was of peripteral design, with columns surrounding the Temple cella. The type of Temple is relatively rare in Lebanon, with the closest parallel the large Temple at Sfire (Krencker and Zschietzschmann 1938, 148–151). The Temple was approximately 20 m wide and 37 m long and was enclosed in a long narrow temenos at least 35 m wide and possibly 180 m long (van Ess et al. 2005, 120–121).

6 The Temple viewshed will be discussed in Chapter 11.

Both full composite capitals and composite pilasters are shown in the photographic record from the site. Hence the design of the Temple of Mercury is unlike any of the other Temples at Baalbek, which were all of the Corinthian order (Wienholz 2006, 282). Some composite capitals are found in the adyton of the Temple of Bacchus as well as in the conches in the semicircular exedras of the great Courtyard, suggesting an evolution in form from these buildings. The acanthus leaves are similar to those found on the propylon of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus and the colonnade in the Bustan el-Khan area. The *Bügelkyma* of the abacus has a Syrian style (Wienholz 2006, 283). Wienholz concludes that the Temple should be dated after the "Bacchus" Temple, while the coin of Philip the Arab suggests a date of completion prior to 249 CE.

The monumental stairway is one of the most interesting elements of the city in the third century. The lower end of the stairway is now covered by development, and some Ottoman houses used the stairway as a foundation (van Ess et al. 2005, 119). The stairway must have started just to the north of the theatre, now covered by the Palmyra Hotel. The stairway was 13 m wide and a significant enough construction to be recorded on a coin. The stairway ended in a mosaic pavement just outside the temenos enclosure, suggesting that this propylon was lavishly decorated (van Ess et al. 2005, 120). A wide stairway suggests large numbers of people moving up and down from the Temple, and hence I interpret this as strong evidence for ritual processions associated with the worship of Mercury.

Four altars dedicated to Mercury have been recovered out of context by Salamé-Sarkis (1987),[7] although all four are believed to have been found in area of Sheikh Abdallah Hill. One of these altars, dedicated by Statilianus Afidenus, is dated no later than the early part of the first century CE. As such it predates the construction of the Temple of Mercury by at least 200 years. No evidence remains of an earlier Temple structure, but the existence of the altar indicates that the worship of Mercury was established at Baalbek-Heliopolis early in the development of the colony.

### 9.3.4 *The Bustan el-Khan Area*

Bustan el-Khan is an area of Roman urban development to the south of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, as illustrated in Figure 50. The site, which lies outside the medieval city walls, acquired the name *Bustan el-Khan* and became a garden sometime after antiquity. The area was excavated by Kalayan in the 1960s and 1970s, receiving some limited publication (Saidah 1967, 157, Kalayan 1975, 32); however, much documentation of the excavation has been lost (van

7 See Chapter 10.

FIGURE 50 The monumental stairway and its relation to the Temple of Mercury
SOURCE GOOGLE

Ess et al. 2005, 125). During the recent German excavation programme of 2001–2009, in the area of Bustan el-Khan was investigated with focus on the two large Roman public buildings, the banqueting hall and Roman bath, and the later medieval hammam (Brünenberg 2009, 191–204, van Ess et al. 2003, 115 f.). The area faces onto a colonnaded street that presumably continued to the front of the Temples of Jupiter Heliopolitanus and joins the section of colonnaded street in front of the Venus area, discussed below. The hammam dates from the Ayyubid period and will not be discussed further.

The building covers some three thousand square metres and is 79 m long and 53 m wide. The frigidarium, tepidarium, and caldarium form a cross in the middle of the building, similar to the arrangement of the Baths of Trajan in Rome (Brünenberg 2009). The building is not on the same scale as the various imperial-bath complexes in Rome (Claridge, Toms, and Cubberley 1998, 289), nor the imperial baths next to the forum in Berytus; nevertheless it was a very substantial building. There is only a small palaestra for exercising, suggesting a difference from the common form of baths in the eastern provinces. The colonnade in front of the building formed a portico. It was found collapsed in situ by Kalayan in the 1960s and was subsequently reerected (Brünenberg 2009, 193). The capitals were in a similar style, in the high quality of leaves and the high quality of the figurative elements, to the ones of the "Bacchus" Temple and the

propylon to the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus. Hence they and the building can be dated to the second half of the second century CE, and we can see this from the dense tendril frieze that was popular during the Severan period (Wienholz 2006, 279–280). Remnants of a marble floor suggest a richly decorated floor, while the remains of the hypocaust system suggest that the baths were in use for a long period (Brünenberg 2009, 198). What the baths complex represents in terms of cult practice is unclear. They may simply have been there to service the needs of vistors to Baalbek-Heliopolis. However, it might also suggest some form of ritual element to bathing activity. Unfortunately there is insufficient evidence from just two sites to draw any firm conclusions, especially as in both cases the bath complex is not directly linked to the Temple complex or cannot definitely be proved to be directly associated with it.

The peristyle building or banqueting hall lies at the southern end of Bustan el-Khan and was excavated by the German team led by Margarete van Ess between 2001 and 2003. The team found three phases of building layered on top of each other. The first building was relatively large at 35 m by 30 m and was orientated perpendicular to the colonnaded street (van Ess et al. 2005, 134). One mosaic floor and a plastered wall were found in situ (van Ess et al. 2005, 131). The first building was probably destroyed by fire (van Ess et al. 2005, 134).

Phase 2 of the building was the first with a peristyle and was larger at 30 m by 75 m than the building it replaced (van Ess et al. 2005, 131). A roof covered the space between the colonnade and the exterior wall. The second building is associated with the large-scale redevelopment of the whole Bustan el-Khan area. An artificial platform some 100 m by 200 m appears to have been constructed, as is clear from the artificial filling on the site of the peristyle containing materials from the early Neolithic period mixed with flint tools that was brought in to level the surface for the construction of the complex (van Ess et al. 2005, 128). Ionic style columns were used of around 0.65 m to 0.7 m diameter (van Ess et al. 2005, 134).

In building phase 3, the second peristyle building was built 1.2 m higher than the previous one, using the Corinthian-style columns with 0.62 m diameter (van Ess et al. 2005, 134). The façade underwent some changes, as there was now no portico and the street became colonnaded (van Ess et al. 2005, 135). A side entrance to the building on the middle of the south face appears to have been important, with a delicately decorated doorframe and fragments of a canopy that may have covered a shrine or altar (van Ess et al. 2005).

Unlike the other buildings in Baalbek, there are limited architectural remains from the peristyle building that can be used for dating (Wienholz 2006, 280–281). The Ionic columns from phase 2 have an astragal of the same type as that in the Great Courtyard, and an abacus may have had a *Bügelkyma* of

the Syrian style (Wienholz 2006, 280). The Corinthian capitals from phase 3 are not otherwise known from Baalbek but match the common style of decoration from the Lebanese coast (Wienholz 2006, 281). A vault in the area near the side entrance produced a series of datable items (van Ess et al. 2005, 130). Many artifacts were found dated to between the fourth and sixth century, such as cooking and storage vessels, while one coin of Gallienus was found in the fill of the vault. This coin, dated to 256–268 CE, went out of use by the early fourth century (van Ess et al. 2005, 130). Further trenches in a conical wall to the south of the southwest colonnade revealed a bronze coin of Claudius II Gothicus from 268–270 CE.

The main axis of the peristyle building was orientated toward the Temple of Mercury and is very clearly at an angle to the colonnaded street, unlike the neighbouring Roman bath complex. This has led the German team to conclude that the building was a banqueting hall of a cultic community associated with the worship of Mercury (van Ess et al. 2005, 135). A line drawn down the axis of the building very clearly intersects Sheikh Abdallah Hill at the location of the Temple of Mercury. This building would have been the starting or end point for processions to the Temple itself, with the route probably going north up the colonnaded street to the centre of Heliopolis and then climbing up the monumental staircase to the Temple itself.

The odeon is a late addition to the site, being constructed in the fifth or sixth century (Brünenberg 2009, 191), but as yet no detailed information has been published, so it is difficult to understand the relationship between the odeon and the neighbouring Roman baths. However, van Ess (2006b, 24) concluded that the bath was still in use when the odeon was built because its layout respected the existing building.

### 9.3.5 *The So-called Temple of Venus*

As noted earlier, a prostyle round Temple, known as the Temple of Venus, lies within a trapezoidal temenos enclosure alongside a much older pseudoperipteral Temple that was probably dedicated to the Muses, Tyche, or the local gad of Baalbek. The relationship of the two Temples is illustrated in Figure 36. Unlike the "Temple of the Muses," which was buried under medieval development, the Temple of Venus appears to have been visible from antiquity onward. A full archaeological investigation of the Venus area was conducted in 1957, revealing the "Temple of the Muses," the canal and the surrounding enclosure, and colonnade streets (Hoebel 2006, 161).[8]

8 A wine-pressing installation was found in the area adjacent to the so-called Temple of Venus (Fischer-Genz 2016).

Circular Temples are not unknown in Roman architecture; for example, the well-preserved Round Temple of Hercules Victor, dating from either the late second century or early first century BCE, can be found near the Tiber in Rome (Claridge, Toms, and Cubberley 1998, 254) while the now-poorly-preserved remains of the Temple of Vesta lie alongside the Via Sacra (Claridge, Toms, and Cubberley 1998, 101). The most famous Roman circular Temple is of course the pantheon. However, no other Temple in the Roman world displays the baroque architecture of the so-called Temple of Venus in Baalbek (Hoebel 2006, 166). The Temple rests upon a double podium, each one decorated differently; the lower part has a rectangular shape at the front, merging into a semicircular on the back side, while the upper one has more complicated design. The rear side, following the curve of the cella, has five concave recesses located between the columns of the round peristyle (Hoebel 2006, 164–165). While the Temple decoration was ornate, the whole structure was very poorly constructed, with foundations reaching a depth of only 1.5 m and resting on soil, unlike the foundations of the Bacchus Temple, which reached down 17 m to the bedrock (Hoebel 2006, 166). In some cases the masonry lacks dowelling and so was only loosely joined, while some surfaces were left rough. The Temple as a whole may never have been fully finished (Ragette 1980, 56). Hoebel (2014, 88–89) concludes that these poor design elements and low-quality finishing do not reflect a lack of technical expertise but rather a lack of funds. He suggests that this probably implies that the Temple was a private foundation.

There is a lack of dating evidence for the Temple and, as noted earlier, there is only one Greek inscription dating to 430/31 CE located at the rear of the Temple (*IGLS* 2831). This inscription notes the construction of a canal to protect the Temple from flooding. This date is a *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the Temple; however, in view of the architectural decoration, it is more likely that it was constructed around the first half of the third century (Hoebel 2006, 166), while a coin of Philip the Arab is believed to show the front of the Temple (Wienholz 2006, 281). The use of stone from the Temple in the canal to the west of the building suggests that it was out of use by this date (van Ess et al. 2003, 123). The area continued in use through to the Byzantine period and the Temple of Venus may have been converted to a Christian church, dedicated to Saint Barbara, early in the Byzantine period. The area certainly remained in use throughout the Byzantine period, and the area remains known as "Saint Barbara" (van Ess et al. 2003, 127).

As noted earlier it is likely that both this round Temple and the much earlier Temple alongside it were dedicated to the same deity and shared the same rock-cut altar. The identification of this Temple as dedicated to Venus is based

on the decoration of some of the external niches with seashells and the strong belief in the existence of a Heliopolitan triad by Seyrig and others (Ragette 1980, 52).

The access to the sanctuary is through a propylon situated in the north-western periblos wall (Hoebel 2006, 165). The propylon is composed of three entranceways, the middle one higher than the other two. The central door is flanked with semicircular niches above projecting pedestals, which is a common motif in the region. Only the main entrance had motifs preserved on the eastern doorjamb and on a fragment of a lintel, and these can be dated to the second half of the second century. Outside the periblos wall, a colonnade of the same date ran on three sides (see Figure 36). Hence, the construction of the enclosure and the colonnade occurs at precisely the same time as the large-scale building work at Bustan el-Khan, the construction of the Bacchus Temple and the Temple of Mercury.

### 9.3.6 *The Temple and Nymphaeum at Ras el-Ain*

Ras el-Ain is located 1.5 km to the southeast of the Temple of Jupiter-Helipolitanus, as can be seen in Figure 53. It lay on the edge of the ancient city and was the location of the spring associated with the water channels that led to the area of Santa Barbara containing the Round Temple and the pseudo-peripteral Temple thought to be associated with the Muses (Périssé-Valéro and Lohmann 2014, 93). The site was not investigated by the early twentieth-century German excavation, which instead focused on the remains of the early mosque, as the Roman remains were not clearly visible (Périssé-Valéro and Lohmann 2014, 93). In 1974 Kalayan cleared the spring pool that lay next to the mosque and found the remains of a Temple sited on a peninsula within an ancient basin and a nymphaeum (Kalayan 1975, 30). In 2010 the original drawings and photographs from the excavations were recovered from archives of the DGA, allowing the German excavation team of van Ess to publish a more detailed account of the site (Périssé-Valéro and Lohmann 2014, 92–95).[9]

The Temple remains are in poor condition, having probably collapsed in late antiquity or been deliberately destroyed (Périssé-Valéro and Lohmann 2014, 93). The platform was later reused for a church and in the thirteenth century as the foundation for a small mosque (Périssé-Valéro and Lohmann 2014, 93). The remains suggest that the Temple was pseudoperipteral in style, with dimensions of 8 m by 15.12 m (Périssé-Valéro and Lohmann 2014, 94). The Temple was

9 Fischer-Genz (2016) has recently published details of a wine-pressing installation found in the vicinity of Ras el-Ain that may date from the Roman period.

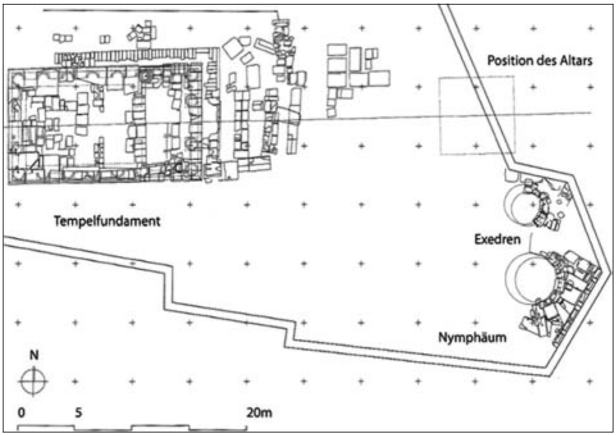


FIGURE 51 Plan of the Temple and nymphaeum at Ras el-Ain
PERISSE-VALERO AND LOHMANN 2014

orientated to the east and was approached by a narrow staircase and was otherwise surrounded by water (Périssé-Valéro and Lohmann 2014, 93). Like many of the Temples in Baalbek-Heliopolis, parts of the structure remained unfinished (Périssé-Valéro and Lohmann 2014, 93).

The nymphaeum remains consist of two semicircular exedra around 20 m to the southeast of the Temple (Périssé-Valéro and Lohmann 2014, 94). The southern exedra has a diameter of approximately 3.8 m, while the northern is slightly smaller at 2.85 m (Périssé-Valéro and Lohmann 2014, 94). The remains of a semicircular balustrade with rich decoration were found in the basin and were probably associated with the southern exedra (Périssé-Valéro and Lohmann 2014, 95). The plan of the Temple and nymphaeum can be seen in Figure 51.

The dating of the site is unclear; however, the use of a pseudoperipteral Temple design, and the association with the spring and surrounding water basin, link the site closely with the Santa Barbara area and the pseudoperipteral "Temple of the Muses" (Périssé-Valéro and Lohmann 2014, 95). It seems very likely that the two Temples were constructed at the same time in the early imperial period. Furthermore, the fact that this Temple was continuously surrounded by water, while the Temple at Santa Barbara was surrounded by water periodically, clearly indicates local cultic practice.

### 9.3.7 *Other Monumental Buildings in Baalbek*

The remains of a theatre lie unexcavated under the Hotel Palmyra, located at the foot of Sheikh Abdallah Hill and opposite Bustan el-Khan. However, an ancient model of the theatre has been recovered from Baalbek and can now be seen in the National Museum of Beirut. Little is known about the model

FIGURE 52 A Roman architectural model of a theatre recovered from Baalbek and thought to be a model of the unexcavated theatre now situated underneath the Hotel Palmyra
PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR

beyond the fact that it was recovered from Baalbek and that it is assumed to be a model of the theatre under the Hotel Palmyra. The theatre model is illustrated in Figure 52.

There is no dating evidence available for the theatre, but there is evidence of games taking place at Baalbek. Coins of both Valerian and Gallienus carry the legends that are variants of "*COL IVL AVG FEL HELO CER SACR CAPET OECVME ISIL HEL*" or "Colonia Julia Augusta Felix Certamina Heliopolitana Sacrum Capitolium Oecomenicum Isselasticum Helioplitanum" (Jidejian 1975, 29). It is reasonable to assume therefore, given its location, that the theatre was constructed between the mid-second and mid-third century at the same time as the broader remodelling of the city, and that it hosted some aspect of the Universal Heliopolitan Festival. What exactly the festival consisted of is unclear, and there are no other references to it. The use of *capitolium* in the title of the festival suggests a link to the annual Capitoline Games in Rome that were held in honour of Capitoline Jupiter, but there is nothing to substantiate such a link.

A monumental gatehouse lies to the north of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus and is now enclosed in a military base. The gate needs to be further investigated to help researchers understand when it was constructed and its

relation to the city wall. The only reference to the date of the city wall is an inscription referring to its repair in 440 CE (Rheidt 2006, 235). However, it seems likely that the gateway was monumental rather than defensive and may have been constructed long before the Roman city wall. Indeed it is not even clear that the city was fully enclosed by a Roman wall, and little trace of it remains today.

### 9.3.8 *Conversion and Landscape Change: Remodelling Heliopolis in the High Empire*

By the middle of the second century, the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus was complete, along with the two altars, but the Great Court remained a construction site. The neighbouring "Temple of Muses" had been completed for around 150 years, as had the round building at Ain Juj. A century later the Temples of "Bacchus," "Venus," and Mercury had been constructed, as had the Great Court, the hexagonal forecourt, the propylon, and the semicircular plaza of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus. These developments in religious architecture took place at the same time as a major remodelling of the city, including the construction of colonnaded streets, a large bath complex, and a feast hall. There are three key elements in this redevelopment of the city to explore: the stylistic change to incorporate distinctively Syrian architectural elements; the construction of colonnaded streets, public plazas, and gatelike structures parallelling similar developments in nearby cities; and finally, the completion of a "religious" city with public architecture appropriate to a major centre of pilgrimage.

All the later monumental architecture contains distinctively Near Eastern features. Most of the monuments display the Syrian-style *Bügelkyma*, while the Syrian niche is a feature of the Great Court, the propylon of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, and the "Bacchus" Temple. The "Bacchus" Temple also clearly has a raised and canopied adyton, another common feature of Near Eastern Temples. The propylon of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus also displays an arcuated lintel and towers. These decorative elements show that the architectural models that inspired design at Baalbek-Heliopolis were at this time from the Near East rather than from Rome and the western empire.

Segal, in his *From Function to Monument: Urban Landscapes of Roman Palestine, Syria and Provincial Arabia* (1997), identifies a common architectural "language" present throughout the Roman cities of the Near East expressed through four key structures: colonnaded streets, public plazas, gates, and gatelike structures and nymphaea. The first colonnaded street known from the region was in Antioch dating from 30–20 BCE, while the earliest surviving example is at

Gerasa was dated from the late first century CE (Segal 1997, 7,9). Virtually all cities in the Roman Near East seem to have gained colonnaded streets, as did Baalbek-Heliopolis and Berytus. Colonnaded streets seem to have played a variety of roles within the life of a city, as traffic arteries, markets, meeting places, and processional ways (Segal 1997, 753). At Baalbek-Heliopolis it is clear that the colonnaded street would have been used for processions from the feast hall to the Temple of Mercury. Baalbek-Heliopolis also possessed public plazas, although the location of the forum or agora has been lost. It may lie underneath the Great Umayyad Mosque, to the east of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus (Ragette 1980, 64), although the recent restoration has not provided any additional evidence in favour of this theory (Hagopian 2003).

A semicircular courtyard lay just outside the propylon to the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus. The courtyard was 72.5 m wide and extended 80 m from the propylon, the first 45 m of which was rectangular and the remainder a semicircle (Lohmann 2014, 72). The courtyard was paved with large slabs and surrounded by at least three tiers of seats (Lohmann 2014, see figure 82), with small staircases to allow access to the courtyard itself. The area where the courtyard joined the propylon was destroyed when the medieval moat was constructed, but it is possible that a road ran through this area, separating the propylon from the courtyard (Lohmann 2014, 72). The role of the courtyard is unclear. Lohmann (2014, 72) describes the courtyard as a cultic theatre or atrium, and the presence of seats strongly indicates that it played such a role. Yet it was clearly not a full-fledged, theatre and indeed the theatre itself lay close by. At times when it was not being used as a theatre, it perhaps played the role of a city plaza. Such open plazas linking city development to Temples can also be found at Scythapolis and at Gerasa, where the large oval plaza links the colonnaded Cardo Maximus with the entrance to the Temple of Zeus (Segal 1997, 71,75–78). Baalbek-Heliopolis also contains a number of gates and gatelike structures. The monumental north gate is similar in style to the west gate of Bosra and the north gate of Gerasa (Segal 1997, 90–94). The propylon to the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus is clearly also a gatelike structure and has already been compared with that of the Temple of Artemis in Gerasa. It is clear, therefore, that Baalbek-Heliopolis gained exactly the same monumental elements that other neighbouring Near Eastern cities did.

By the middle of the third century, Baalbek-Heliopolis not only had several large Temple complexes but also had facilities such as the Roman bath and theatre and needed to cope with large numbers of visitors and to provide the ability to host major festivals. The size of the Roman bath complex suggests strongly that a large number of visitors came to the city, and as noted earlier there is evidence of imperial sponsored festivals. Hence we should see the

urban landscape of Baalbek-Heliopolis as transformed into a major religious centre that hosted pilgrims from across the Roman world.

## 9.4 Funerary Practice in Baalbek and Douris

Six ancient cemeteries have been identified in the vicinity of Baalbek, in four sites surrounding the city (at Sheikh Abdallah Hill, Ras el-Ain, el-Sharauna, and el-Solh) and in two neighbouring villages (at el-Kayyal and Qubbet Douris) lying 2 km and 4 km, respectively, from the city (de Jong 2014, 47). The cemetery locations are illustrated in Figure 53. The largest cemetery is that on the western side of Sheikh Abdallah Hill, which extends to the quarries south of the city (de Jong 2014, 48). This cemetery lies at least partially within the area of the city itself, and given the location of one hypogeum close to the monumental staircase to the Temple of Mercury, this may have been deliberate rather than being the result of city growth overrunning an earlier cemetery (de Jong 2014, 49). The dating of the cemetery is only approximate, with one grave inscription dating to the first century and other datable materials from the second and third centuries (de Jong 2014, 49). Graves were known on the summit of Sheikh Abdallah Hill and east of the hill toward Ras el-Ain, although these areas could not be examined during the recent German archaeological research programme (de Jong 2014, 48). The cemetery at el-Sharauna lies immediately north of the ancient gatehouse (see section 9.3.7), within an ancient quarry site. Three hypogea with arcosolium-style grave niches were found at the site in the recent survey (de Jong 2014, 48). In 1998 construction work led to the discovery of an undisturbed skeleton with a golden facemask in the same general area (van Ess and Petersen 2003, 95). In the residential district of el-Solh, a series of ten vaults was identified by de Jong (2014, 48), although the vaults did not show evidence of use as tombs and are now used for storage purposes. The remains of Roman tombs have been found in the area during construction work (de Jong 2014, 48). The sites at el-Sharauna and el-Solh could be contiguous. Tombs in the area of el-Sharauna were known from the time of the early-twentieth-century excavations and were dated to the Byzantine period by Weigand (de Jong 2014, 49).

Before proceeding to discuss these cemeteries, there is one burial that should be examined in more detail: that of Zenodorus. The tomb itself is lost, having been destroyed in the 1860s (Kropp 2013, 205). This was a very large mausoleum that was recorded by William John Bankes on a visit in 1818 (Kropp 2013), although this has only recently been rediscovered, with the inscription published by de Saulcy (1853, 613–614). The drawing by Banks suggests the mausoleum had a central arched entrance with niches containing large statues on

FIGURE 53 Aerial photograph showing the locations of cemeteries in the vicinity of Baalbek-Heliopolis. The cemeteries to the north of Baalbek, at el-Sharauna and el-Solh, may in fact be contiguous.
GOOGLE

either side. The inscription names the occupant as Zenodorus, son of Lysanias the tetrarch. As Kropp (2013, 206) notes this cannot be Zenodorus the tetrarch, as the inscription mentioned no royal titles of the occupant. Hence this must be Zenodorus, a son of Lysanias, the tetrarch of Abilene. Lysanias is known to have been in place in 29 CE from Luke's gospel (3.1), but later the tetrarchy was given to Agrippa I by Caligula in 37 CE (Kropp 2013, 207). Zenodorus must therefore have lived in Heliopolis during the first century and been a leading member of the aristocracy. The tomb does not reveal anything about funerary practice but does provide a link between the Ituraean dynasty and Heliopolis, although one long after the tetrarchs had ceased to rule the Bekaa.

Outside Baalbek tombs have been found in the modern villages of el-Kayyal and Qubbet Douris, and both sites were probably associated with the city of Baalbek-Heliopolis in the Roman period. The quarry at el-Kayyal is now a rubbish dump, but four sarcophagi have been found in the modern residential area immediately to the south (de Jong 2014, 49). In 1996 a rescue excavation was mounted to recover a series of sarcophagi found below ground during the laying of telephone cables (van Ess and Petersen 2003, 86). Eight sarcophagi were found 0.6 m below ground and four were found underneath these, 1.25 m further down (van Ess and Petersen 2003, 86). Only one of the sarcophagi was

found undisturbed, and this was one of those on the lower level (van Ess and Petersen 2003, 94). A further excavation was conducted in 1997 to understand more about the site, and two further sarcophagi were found, both of which had been looted in antiquity (van Ess and Petersen 2003, 88, 90). The twelve original sarcophagi found in 1996 were all orientated north–south, while those found in 1997 were orientated east–west (van Ess and Petersen 2003, 86, 90). Local people report that further sarcophagi had been found to the north and south of the excavation site, suggesting that it was the edge of a larger necropolis (van Ess and Petersen 2003, 90).

The undisturbed sarcophagus at Douris contained the skeleton of an adult, probably a woman (van Ess and Petersen 2003, 94). The face of the skeleton was covered by pieces of gold leaf; a large oval covered the forehead, a rectangle the nose, smaller ovals the eyes, and a rhomboid shape the mouth (van Ess and Petersen 2003, 94). In addition eight small gold leaves were found with female heads embossed on them from the torso area and hence may have been associated with the burial garment or shroud (van Ess and Petersen 2003, 95). Fifty-three gold leaves surrounded the head and were probably part of a sepulchral wreath (van Ess and Petersen 2003, 95). Ten glass vessels were also found in the sarcophagus at the feet of the skeleton; eight were funnel-shaped vessels made from bluish-green glass, while the remaining two were shaped like round-bottomed flasks with a flattened base (van Ess and Petersen 2003, 97) and probably contained aromatic oils. The burial was probably dated to the second or third century.

In the survey by de Jong (2014), three different types of graves were identified: forty-five hypogea, thirteen "rock-cut" tombs, and a possible mausoleum. A series of other items was identified, including coffins, stele, grave sculptures, and grave inscriptions (de Jong 2014, 50). Two different types of hypogea were found. The less common type consisted of a rectangular or square chamber covered by a vault but without grave niches, and the dead must therefore have been buried in stone or wooden sarcophagi on the floor (de Jong 2014, 50). The more common type of hypogeum consisted of a rectangular chamber with grave niches cut into the walls, each with a vaulted ceiling, known as arcosol-graves (de Jong 2014, 50). One, two, or three niches were stacked vertically in the chambers, while the smallest chamber contained three niches, the largest had six in each side wall and four in the rear wall (de Jong 2014, 50). The rock-cut graves were rectangular rock-cut depressions, and in some locations these surround hypogea (de Jong 2014, 50).

van Ess and Petersen (2003, 91) report that fifty-eight examples of sarcophagi have been recovered from Baalbek; all were limestone and probably from local quarries. The sarcophagi had a distinctive local style, with two panels on the

long side with relief decoration. The relief panels were decorated with simple designs, including pelta shields, wreaths, rosettes, lozenges, and discs, of which the pelta shield was the most common (van Ess and Petersen 2003, 92). The pelta design may have had some symbolic meaning, while the rosette may be a stylised representation of the sun (van Ess and Petersen 2003, 92).

Burials in and around Baalbek seem to be concentrated in hypogea, with burials in "rock-cut" graves or sarcophagi being the second most popular type of funerary practice. The largest hypogea contained sixteen grave niches and points to collective tombs, although whether these were for extended families or funerary societies is unknown. As no human remains were found in the vast majority of the tombs, it is impossible to assess how many burials were in these tombs or whether niches were reused as was found at Berytus. The sarcophagi do show a distinctive local style and do not have the figurative designs found elsewhere in the Greco-Roman world. The single intact burial from Douris showed the use of gold foil as a facemask, and this practice was also found in a burial recovered from the el-Sharauna area in 1998. As was discussed in Chapter 6, another golden facemask burial was found in Berytus. This distinctive style of burial is common in Phoenicia and Syria, with other examples found at Sidon, Emesa, and Zenobia (van Ess and Petersen 2003, 94). Funerary practice shows elements that are common with the Roman world and elements that are more local in character. As no pre-Roman cemeteries have been found, it is impossible to assess how Roman funerary practice relates to earlier practices. The dating of most of the burials is second century onward, and hence it is impossible to assess funerary practice immediately after the foundation of the colonia.

## 9.5 Conclusion: A Double Transformation

Two religious transformations took place at Baalbek-Heliopolis. During first transformation in the late first century BCE and the first century CE the Sanctuary of Jupiter Heliopolitanus was reconstructed on a massive scale, incorporating some local elements but also strongly referencing Roman themes and ideas more familiar in the context of Italy. The principal theme of this first transformation derives from the Latin west. Baalbek-Heliopolis also witnessed the beginning of a development of smaller local sanctuaries; in some places local deities were worshipped, and others incorporated local rituals. There is a clear distinction though between the redevelopment of the Sanctuary of Jupiter Heliopolitanus and the construction of other religious architecture. The Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus was a massive structure that was imposed upon

the landscape. The smaller sanctuaries were all built in locations that respected the local topography; these structures were embedded with the landscape.

The second transformation at Baalbek-Heliopolis began in around 150 CE and included a complete remodelling of the city. It included the construction of two major Temples and the addition of major public buildings, including a large Roman bath complex. The style of this transformation was Near Eastern, with architectural models deriving from the neighbouring cities of Roman Syria and the Levant. By the middle of the third century, the visitor to Baalbek would have seen a city with all the attributes and architecture found in cities such as Gerasa or Palmyra. This second transformation is concurrent with the Severan dynasty in Rome, a central figure of which was the Syrian Julia Domna, wife of Septimus Severus and mother of Caracalla, a connection revealed in the epigraphic sources discussed in Chapter 10.

CHAPTER 10

# Life in the Colonia from Epigraphic, Numismatic, and Iconographic Evidence

## 10.1 Introduction

This chapter examines life at Baalbek-Heliopolis and in the wider Bekaa valley through the medium of epigraphic, iconographic, and numismatic evidence. A large number of Latin and Greek inscriptions have been recovered from Baalbek and the Bekaa valley (Rey-Coquais 1967). The *IGLS* volume on Baalbek and the Bekaa valley contains 323 inscriptions, including a small number of fragments.[1] Six further inscriptions are included from Salamé-Sarkis (1987, 126–139) that were recovered and recorded with the help of an art dealer, as the inscriptions themselves had been taken from Baalbek illicitly. A full listing of all the inscriptions used in this analysis can be found in Appendix B.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to cover inscriptions recovered from Berytus and Deir el-Qalaa in the same way, as the corresponding volume of *IGLS*, 8.1, is not yet complete. This critical text remains a work in progress for the editors Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais and Julien Aliquot.

Figure 54 shows the distribution of find location for all inscriptions in the study. It should be noted however that the Rey-Coquais volume represents a collection of inscriptions and does not reflect a systematic survey of the Bekaa valley. As is immediately clear, the large sites at Baalbek and Niha dominate the distribution with over 65 percent of inscriptions recovered from Baalbek. The language distribution of the inscriptions is illustrated in Figure 55, illustrating the even split between Greek and Latin.

Only eighty-four inscriptions can be readily dated, which means care must be taken when interpreting statistical information. Nevertheless, matching the pattern across the empire (MacMullen 1982, 243), these inscriptions date mostly from the late second and early third centuries CE, although with some dating from the first and early second CE. Figure 56 shows the distribution of inscriptions by date and language. Fewer Greek inscriptions were datable than Latin ones, making it difficult to draw firm conclusions, but the data does

1 Note that the *IGLS* number system means that the same number is allocated to inscriptions that were grouped together in *CIL* but are now considered distinct fragments. These have been counted separately in the number 323 reported above.

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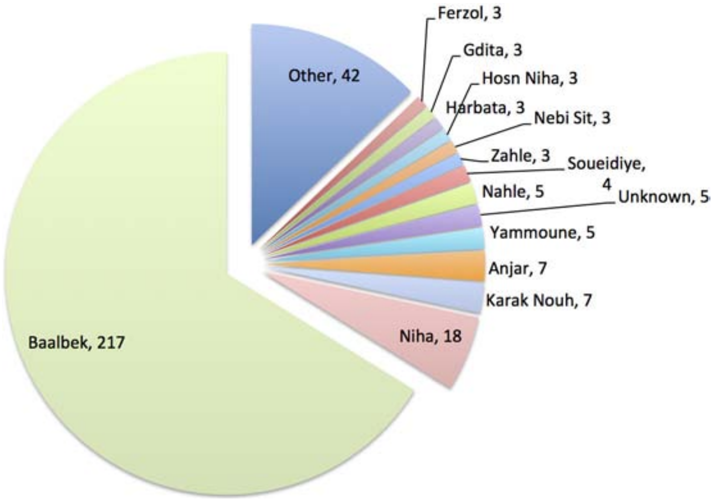


FIGURE 54 Location distribution of inscriptions found in the Bekaa

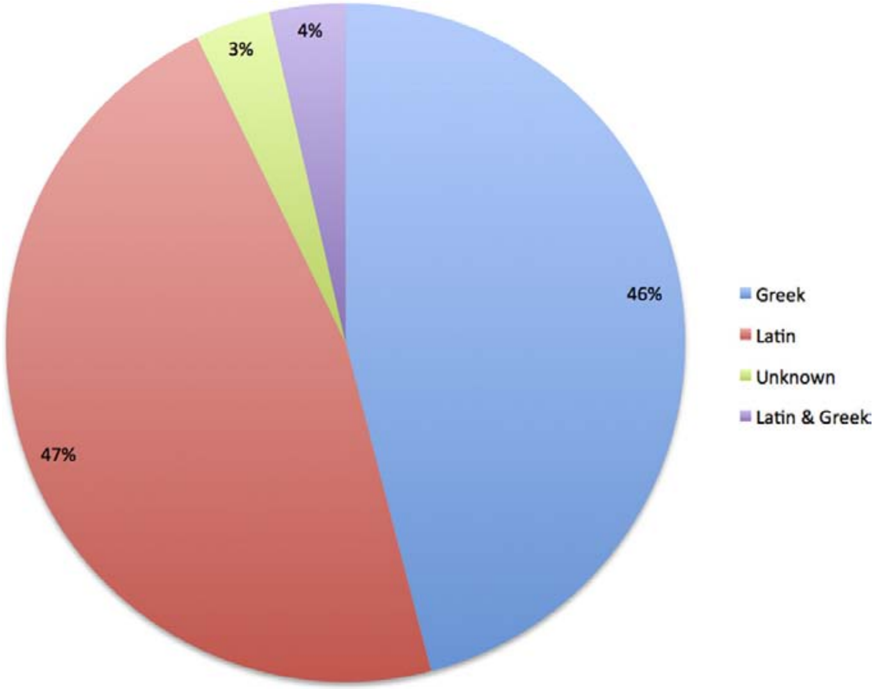


FIGURE 55 Language distribution of inscriptions. The unknown category refers to a small number of fragmentary inscriptions where the language was unidentifiable.

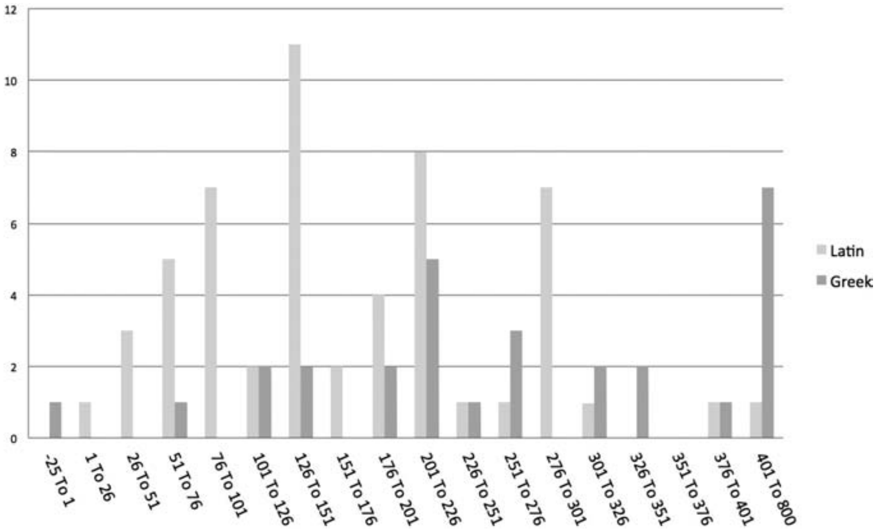


FIGURE 56 The number of Greek and Latin inscriptions by date

suggest a bias toward Latin inscriptions in the first century and a bias toward Greek thereafter. Baalbek-Heliopolis is situated in the Greek-speaking half of the empire, and so the early bias toward Latin inscriptions is at variance with normal expectations. This suggests that a Latin character consistent with the foundation of a Latin colony and veteran settlement dominated the early development of Baalbek-Heliopolis.

## 10.2 The Heliopolitan "Triad"

As noted earlier, the so-called Heliopolitan Triad has become an established part of the interpretation of Baalbek-Heliopolis. Yet I believe there is significant doubt that the Heliopolitan Triad existed as a fixed triad of divinities. Before moving on to examine the evidence for the Heliopolitan Triad, it is important to gain an understanding of the previous literature on the subject in some detail.

Seyrig identified Jupiter Heliopolitanus with the Semitic deity Hadad, a god of storms pictured with a bolt of lightning in his right hand (MacMullen 1982, 243). Venus was identified with the Syrian deity Atargatis, known throughout the eastern Mediterranean (Seyrig 1929, 346). The dyad of Hadad and Atargatis, the goddess of waters, is a very ancient cult (Seyrig 1929, 352), with Jupiter-Hadad known to be the deity to which the Temple of Jupiter in Damascus was dedicated (Seyrig 1929, 54). René Dussaud (1922, 221) pointed out the similarity of the depiction of Jupiter Damascene on the coins of the late Seleucid

King Antiochus XII with statues and other depictions of Jupiter Heliopolitanus. Seyrig also suggested that the lightning bolts carried in the right hand of Hadad may have been transformed into the whip carried by Jupiter Heliopolitanus (Seyrig 1929, 346–347). Seyrig asserts the syncretism between Venus Heliopolitana and Astarte on iconographic grounds, noting the Syrian dress worn by representations of Venus Heliopolitana (Seyrig 1929, 329–330) and the parallel between the two lions that flank representations of Astarte in the interior of Syria and the two Sphinxes that flank representations of Venus Heliopolitana (Seyrig 1929, 329–330). Earlier Dussaud noted that the goddess Atargatis is syncretised with Venus on coins of Demetrius III (Dussaud 1922, 222). Seyrig also associates Venus-Atargatis with the Tyche of Baalbek (Seyrig 1929, 352) and sees Mercury Heliopolitan as syncretically linked to a Semitic sun god, Shamash (Seyrig 1929, 353). The linkage to sun worship comes late under Seyrig's model and may in fact simply reflect the establishment of the cult of Hadad in Heliopolis, the City of the Sun (Seyrig 1929, 340), although an image of the cult of sun God might have appeared on the royal coins of the Seleucids in 119 BCE, leading to an association between Hadad and the sun. Mercury Heliopolitan is represented with solar insignia, while Jupiter Heliopolitanus has also a solar disc on his chest; this is similar to that of Malakbel, the sun god and messenger to Bel (Seyrig 1929, 345). Seyrig goes further and associates Bacchus with the cult of Mercury-Heliopolitan (Seyrig 1929, 348–353), although the extent to which Bacchus was assimilated is not clear.

Youssef Hajjar (1977, 511) also asserts the existence of a triad of Roman deities Jupiter, Venus, and Mercury. Hajjar also links Jupiter with Hadad and Venus with Atargatis, while Mercury is associated with another regional deity, whose name is now lost (1977, 1985). Hajjar's work on the Heliopolitan deities is monumental in scale, comprising three large volumes. However, he bases his conclusion on a small number of inscriptions and iconographic representation, leading to sharp criticism from Millar (1993, 282) and Greenfield (1990, 280–283).

The main problem for the proposed syncretism between Semitic deities and the Heliopolitan "Triad" is the lack of any epigraphic evidence directly linking Hadad with Jupiter Heliopolitanus or Atargatis with Venus Heliopolitan. In fact, as Millar points out, Hadad and Atargatis are mentioned separately in bilingual inscriptions at Niha and Berytus (Millar 1993, 283). As was seen in Chapter 8 at Niha, a Latin inscription shows that Hochmaea was a priestess of *Hadaranis* and *Dea Syr*(*ia*) *Nihat*(*ena*); the latter was equated to *thea Atargatis* in Greek. At Berytus a bilingual inscription equates *thea Atargatis* with *Dea Syria*, while Venus Heliopolitan is mentioned independently (Millar 1993, 283). At the very least, this evidence casts doubt on the proposed syncretism between Venus Heliopolitana and Atargatis.

Peter Haider (2002, 83–122) suggests that the Heliopolitan deities have links to Hellenistic period Egyptian gods. He suggest that the ancient writers Lucian of Samosata (*De Dea Syria*, 5) and Porphyry of Tyre (Macrobius *Saturnalia* 1.23.10–13, thought to be quoting Porphyry's *On the Sun*) were correct in asserting that the cults of Baalbek-Heliopolis originated in Egyptian Heliopolis (Haider 2002, 84). Haider suggests the link with Egypt came through the Ptolemaic kingdom in the Hellenistic period. To demonstrate the link, Haider appeals to iconographic arguments. He suggests, for example, that Jupiter Heliopolitanus's youthful appearance can be linked to the Egyptian deity Atum-Re and that aspects of the aspects of the iconography are Egyptian, such as the wig and calathos of Jupiter Heliopolitanus (Haider 2002, 87–88). Haider suggests Egyptian links for all three deities of the Heliopolitan Triad, which itself is left unchallenged. There are several problems with Haider's assertion of Egyptian origins for the cults of Heliopolis. Firstly, as has already been demonstrated in Chapter 3, there is no evidence for religious activity at Heliopolis prior to the late first century BCE and hence no link to the Ptolemaic period. Secondly, the iconographic details are not necessarily representative of Egypt; as (Kropp 2009, 237–240) points out, Syrian iconography had borrowed Egyptian attributes as far back as the Bronze Age.

As was noted earlier, Andreas Kropp (2009, 365–369) examined the deities represented on coin series of the Ituraean tetrarch and compared them with earlier coins from the Seleucid period. He argues that there may be links between Jupiter Heliopolitanus and Ituraean Zeus and between Mercury Heliopolitanus and Ituraean Hermes (Kropp 2009, 371–374). Nevertheless, Kropp suggests there was a significant change of the form of the deities with the foundation of the colonia in 15 BCE. Kropp (2010, 233–237) argues that the iconography of Jupiter Heliopolitanus is a later Roman creation with its tight-fitting robe and cuirass. This would parallel the introduction of the Roman cuirass on representations of the Palmyrene deity Yarhibol from around 80 CE (Dirven and Kaizer 2013, 394). Kropp also concludes that Venus Heliopolitana should not be equated with Atargatis and that evidence suggesting a solar syncretism of Jupiter and Mercury Heliopolitanus is incorrect (Kropp 2010, 260–261). Finally, Kropp suggests, as I do, that there is no evidence for the Heliopolitan Triad.

Julien Aliquot argued that the Heliopolitan Triad was a Roman invention, a deliberate association made by the Roman veterans in Berytus and the Bekaa under Augustus (Aliquot 2009a, 212). *Lex Coloniae Genetivae*, Chapter 64, notes that the *duumviri* must define the list of holidays and public sacrifices followed by the colony within ten days of its foundation (Aliquot 2009a, 212). The *duumviri* should appoint those who should celebrate these sacrifices and organise the calendar, including the feast of the imperial cult (Aliquot 2009a,

212). This is not to say that the Romans imposed their Capitoline Triad on Berytus and the Bekaa but rather that a syncretism grew between the Capitoline Triad and local deities (Aliquot 2009a, 212). The Heliopolitan Triad is not a Phoenician tradition for Aliquot but a Roman one in which the veterans deliberately unified local gods and restructured them under a triad by practising Romanisation (Aliquot 2009a, 216). This process is attested in the usage of Latin and dedication to Apollo and Diana in the Temple of Hadith and Ferzol (Aliquot 2009a, 220).

The problem for Aliquot's theory is that it is unclear how widely provisions like those present in the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae* were applied and specifically whether they were applied in the colony of Berytus. The *Lex Coloniae Genetivae* is a law relating specifically to the foundation of Urso in Spain (now Seville), believed to have been passed into law by Mark Antony in the aftermath of Caesar's death, with the original law drafted by Julius Caesar himself (Hardy 2005, 10). The surviving tablet containing the law is in the Madrid Archaeological Museum, but this is believed to be a Flavian copy of the original (Hardy 2005, 11–12). Even if a provision equivalent to Chapter 64 of the law was applied in Berytus, there is no reason to suppose this would naturally give rise to a triad. As Jörg Rüpke (2012, 135–136) points out, even in the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae*, there is nothing that specifies which deities should be selected beyond some provisions in chapters 70 and 71 that *duumviri* should organise four days with events dedicated to the Jupiter, Minerva, and Juno and that aediles should organise three days of events for Jupiter, Minerva, and Juno with a single day for Venus. There is nothing in this law that would suggest the enforced syncretism of local deities with the Capitoline Triad that Aliquot proposes, and I conclude that his theory is incorrect.

Members of the German archaeological team led by Margarete van Ess have also adopted the idea of a Heliopolitan Triad, with no critique of the theory evident. Klaus Rheidt suggests a spatial relationship among the Temple of Jupiter Helipolitanus, the proposed Temple of Venus at Ain-Juj, and the Temple of Mercury (Rheidt 2006, 235) that reflects the existence of the Heliopolitan Triad. The proposed Sanctuary of Venus would be aligned on the axis of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, while the Temple of Mercury is at right angles to this axis; the relationship is illustrated in figure 2.2. There are two key problems with Rheidt's proposal. The first is the much later construction date of that of the Temple of Mercury than the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus or the Venus Temple, which makes it difficult to sustain the idea of a grand architectural plan for Baalbek-Heliopolis embodying a Heliopolitan Triad. The second problem is that the existence of a Temple of Venus at Ain-Juj is far from certain, as was noted in Chapter 5. Margarete van Ess herself seems also to have adopted

the Heliopolitan Triad without question, as the quoted passage implies: "… In the meantime, remains of a Temple on top of this hill [Sheikh Abdallah Hill] have been found indeed. We therefore know that this was the Temple of the third god of the Heliopolitan Triad, constituted by Jupiter, Venus and Mercury" (Rheidt 2006, 235).

What is the actual evidence supporting the existence of a Heliopolitan Triad? There are two forms of evidence, epigraphic and iconographic, and I will now examine these in turn. There are only three inscriptions out of 323 in the collection of Rey-Coquais that mention Jupiter, Venus, and Mercury (Rey-Coquais 1967, 43–49, IGLS 2711–2713). All three are associated with column bases in the propylon and have been used as evidence that the Sanctuary of Jupiter Heliopolitanus was in fact dedicated to the Triad rather than to Jupiter Heliopolitanus alone (Jidejian 1975, 45). Given that the inscriptions are associated with the propylon, they date to the first half of the third century. The first two inscriptions share the same text:

***IGLS* 2711**

> [I(OVI) O(PTIMO) M(AXIMO) V(ENERI)] M(ERCURIO) DIIS HELIOPOL(ITANIS) PRO SAL(UTE) [ET] VICTORIIS D(OMINIS) N(OSTRI) ANTONINI PII FEL(ICIS) AUG(USTI) ET IULIAE AUG(USTAE) MATRIS D(OMINI) N(OSTRI) CASTR(ORUM) [SEN]AT(US) PATR(IAE) [AUR(ELIUS) ANT(ONIUS)] LONGINUS SPECUL(ATOR) LEG(IONIS) III GALL(ICAE) [AN]TONINIANAE CAPITA COLUMNARUM DUE AEREA AURO INLUMINATA SUA PECUN[IAEX] VOTO L(IBENS) A(NIMO) S(OLVIT)

***IGLS* 2712**

> [I(OVI) O(PTIMO)] M(AXIMO) V(ENERI) M(ERCURIO) DIIS HELIOPOL(ITANIS) PRO SAL(UTE) [ET VICTORIIS] D(OMINIS) N(OSTRI) ANTONINI PII FEL(ICIS) AUG(USTI) ET IULIAE AUG(USTAE) MATRIS D(OMINI) N(OSTRI) CASTR(ORUM) [SEN]AT(US) PATR(IAE) [AUR(ELIUS) ANT(ONIUS)] LONGINUS SPECUL(ATOR) LEG(IONIS) I[II GALL(ICAE) ANTONINIA]NAE CAPITA COLUMNARUM DUA AEREA AURO INLUMINATA SUA PECUNIA EX VOTO L(IBENS) A(NIMO) S(OLVIT)

They were set up in honour of Jupiter, Venus, and Mercury together with Caracalla and his mother, Julia Domna, by Longinus of the Third Legion Gallica, stationed at nearby Raphanea. *IGLS* 2713 contains a similar form of words and was dedicated by […]bas, and Rey-Coquais suggests that this was either Abbas

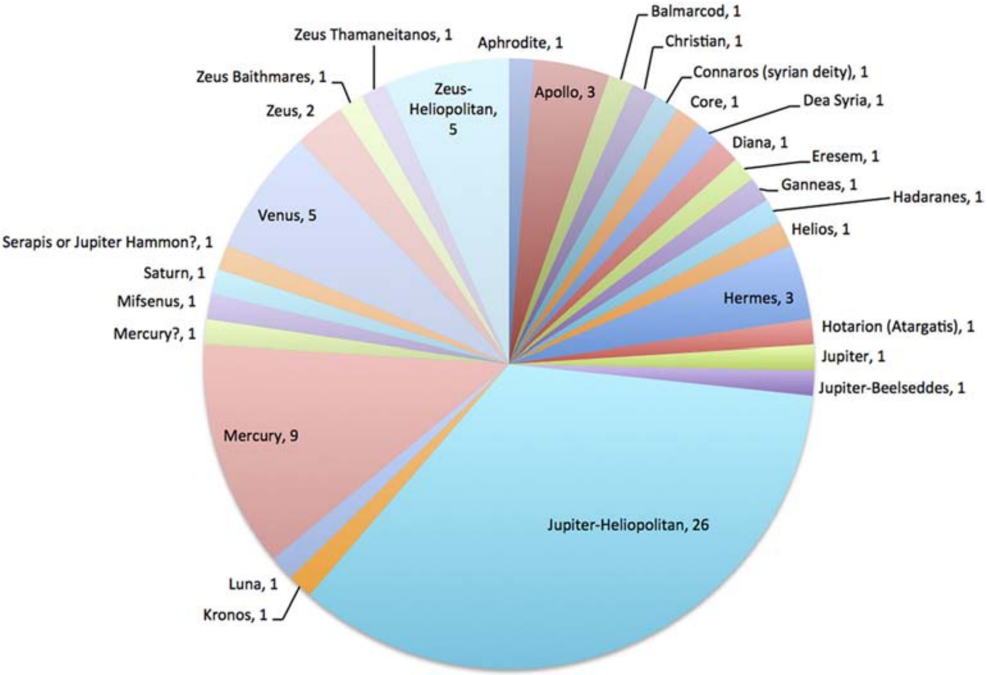


FIGURE 57 Distribution of named deities in IGLS

or Sabas. The key question is whether the formula *Iovi Optimo Maximo, Veneri, Mercurio Diis Heliopolitanis* implies these deities were worshipped together as a triad. There is nothing to suggest a permanent grouping of the deities, and the inscriptions could just reflect a dedication to the three by these two individuals. This seems even more likely when we consider that these three inscriptions are the only ones recovered from the Bekaa valley that mention the three gods together in this manner. The distribution of deities to which dedications are made is illustrated in Figure 57. Only seventy-five dedications contain specific references to deities, and hence these are the only ones that have contributed to the chart; nevertheless, it is immediately obvious that dedications to Jupiter Heliopolitanus and Zeus alone dominate. Mercury received nine or ten solo dedications as well, and three as Hermes.

Three further inscriptions to Heliopolitan Jupiter, Venus, and Mercury have been recovered from locations outside the Bekaa valley. The first was recovered from the Roman Temple at Deir el-Qalaa and adopts the same form of words as the dedications at Baalbek (Rey-Coquais 1999, 607–628).[2] The second

2 See Chapter 9.

was recovered from Athens and was dedicated by Q. Tedius Maximus (*CIL III* 7280). The third inscription was recovered from the foundations of a church in Zellhausen, a German town to the south east of Frankfurt (*CIL XIII* 6658). The Heliopolitan cult clearly spread across the Roman Empire, with evidence recovered from Lebanon, Syria, France, Italy, and Germany (Moore 1907, 117–119, Jidejian 1975, 48). As Jidejian points out, it is somewhat surprising to have so few references to the Heliopolitan Triad from across the Empire if the triad were was the core of the cult rather than just Jupiter Heliopolitanus (Jidejian 1975, 45). We may go further and suggest that the fact that these names occur together outside Baalbek possibly reflects an external view of the deities rather than religious practice at Baalbek itself. If true this suggests the external grouping of the three Heliopolitan deities is nothing more than an exercise in collecting deities venerated at the same location. It is also worth noting that no examples of the Heliopolitan deities occurring together have been recovered from the Temple associated with Jupiter Heliopolitan at Carnuntum in the province of Upper Pannonia.

Setting aside for the moment any issues about the iconography of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, several iconographic representations purporting to show the Heliopolitan Triad are often used as supporting evidence for its existence. There are three types that I discuss: bas-reliefs and carvings, coins, and altars.

Two bas-reliefs have been recovered that are believed to show the Heliopolitan Triad, one of unknown provenance that is now in the Musée des Thermes de Dioclétien in Rome and the second recovered from Fneideq in the north of Lebanon and close to the modern Syrian border. The first shows Jupiter Heliopolitanus in the centre with a whip in his right hand, a veiled figure on the right believed to be Venus, and Mercury on the left, represented as Hermes (Seyrig 1929, 327). The second relief shows Mercury in the centre with Jupiter Heliopolitanus on the right flanked by two bulls and Venus on the left flanked by lions (Seyrig 1929, 91–96). A carved jasper gem from the Charles and Aimée collection (Seyrig 1972, 108–109), shows Jupiter Heliopolitanus flanked by bulls on the centre left, Mercury standing on a pedestal on the far left, and Venus centre right, anointed by a victory. All three show the proposed members of the triad; however, each one gives prominence to a different deity. The relief from Rome has Jupiter Heliopolitanus in the centre, while that from Fneideq has Mercury in the centre. The carved gem gives prominence to Venus as she is anointed by a victory. There is again nothing to confirm that the three deities formed a fixed triad. The differences in ordering and prominence could suggests that these three deities were independent of each other and connected by the fact that they were all from Baalbek-Heliopolis. At least there is no evidence to suggest that Jupiter Heliopolitanus was the primary deity, with the

FIGURE 58 Bas-relief of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, Venus, and Mercury of unknown provenance. Jupiter Heliopolitanus is in the centre, with the veiled Venus on the right and Mercury on the left, depicted as Hermes.
SEYRIG 1929; PL LXXXII

others subordinate to him. Seyrig (1985, 92) notes the difference in ordering between the two bas-reliefs. He explains this by comparing the Fneidiq relief to one from Hierapolis, where Zeus and Hera appear on the right and left on a relief. Per Seyrig, Mercury being in the middle on this relief does not imply he is the most important. Some support for this position might come from the fact that only the head of Mercury on a cippus appears on the relief, while both Jupiter and Venus appear in full. Seyrig does not consider the possibility that the variability of ordering challenges the existence of the Heliopolitan Triad.

A coin minted in Orthosia under Elagabalus is thought to show the Heliopolitan Triad with all three deities in a Temple. Venus is in the centre, while Jupiter Heliopolitanus is in the left wing of the Temple and Mercury is in the right wing (Jidejian 1975, 48).[3] A similar coin from Caeserea-Arca has the same basic form, however, with Venus anointed by a victory (Seyrig 1959, 42). Both coins are used to support the existence of the triad and the spread of the cult outside Baalbek-Heliopolis. Among the coins issued by Heliopolis are coin issues showing the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus and that of Mercury, as described in the last chapter. However, to date no issues have been recovered that show the Heliopolitan Triad. Absence of evidence does not mean that these issues did not exist. Nevertheless, it seems strange that there are many

3 Note that these coins have not been catalogued separately, and so no RPC numbers are available yet.

issues referring to individual Temples and deities if the Heliopolitan Triad was central to cult at Baalbek-Heliopolis.

Six multisided altars have been recovered showing two or more deities from the alleged Heliopolitan Triad, and these have also been used as support for its existence. Five of these monuments are four-sided altars, with each side typically displaying the image of a deity. The altar recovered from Hermel, to the north of Baalbek, showed Jupiter Heliopolitanus, Venus, and Mercury together with an unknown fourth deity (Virolleaud 1929, 113–122). A badly degraded altar from Antioch again shows Jupiter Heliopolitanus, Venus, and Mercury but this time with a cult object flanked by sphinxes on the fourth side (Seyrig 1929, 330–333). A four-sided altar from Kafr Dan, 15 km to the west of Baalbek-Heliopolis, again shows Venus Heliopolitana, this time coupled with a bearded deity that is possibly Jupiter Heliopolitan, a pastoral god that is possibly Mercury, and Eros (Seyrig 1961, 133–135). Altars recovered from Baalbek and Bechouat show the three Heliopolitan deities coupled with an unknown god and Bacchus respectively (Seyrig 1961, 135). The octagonal altar from Fiki shows Jupiter Heliopolitanus, Venus, and Mercury alongside a range of other deities, including the moon god and the sun god (Jidejian 1975, 47). Most of these altars show the three Heliopolitan deities, but in all cases, bar the altar from Antioch, they are shown alongside other deities. How is it possible to use groups of three, four, and eight deities to support the existence of a fixed triad of Heliopolitan gods? A regular and consistent association between the three deities would be required to demonstrate the existence of a triad. There are also a number of stelea that show Jupiter Heliopolitanus either by himself or coupled with a second deity (Jidejian 1975, 48–50), so Jupiter Heliopolitanus is not only found together with Venus and Mercury. Hence, it is far more probable in my view that these altars represent a tradition of grouping deities together on stelea and altars rather than providing firm evidence of a Heliopolitan Triad.[4]

The collected evidence for the existence of the Heliopolitan Triad is weak and could be explained by a rather looser grouping of deities associated with Baalbek-Heliopolis. The question remains, how did the idea of a triad continue to receive attention from scholars for so long if the evidence was so weak? There are several explanations for the survival of the concept of Heliopolitan Triad. One explanation is simply that of severely restricted access to the relevant archaeological sites and material. A second is that the sheer scale of the religious complex at Baalbek-Heliopolis led many scholars to implicitly conclude

4 Note that there is no preexisting tradition of grouping deities together in this way on altars, and all examples date from the Roman period.

that there must have been a significant cult centre at the site in the Hellenistic period or earlier. It did not seem possible the Romans would have built the site from the ground, and a link to earlier Phoenician or Semitic deities would have seemed perfectly natural. Finally, the way Temples were ascribed to four deities, Jupiter Heliopolitanus, Venus, Mercury, and Bacchus, seems to have a circular impact on the triad, even though we know that two of these identifications are now thought incorrect, those of Bacchus and Venus. The idea of the triad led partially to the identification of Temples with deities, which in turn implicitly reinforced the existence of the triad.

It is also clear that the idea of the triple deity has been popular in Near Eastern archaeology, and the debate around the existence of the Heliopolitan Triad is largely parallelled by a similar literature on the so-called Palmyrene Triad, a debate summarised by Kaizer (2002, 71–74) and discussed below.[5] Of course Henri Seyrig also published articles on Palmyra and indeed worked on the Triad of Bel and the Triad of Baalshamin (Seyrig 1971, 89–100), so it is very clear that the concept of a triad of deities featured very prominently in Seyrig's thought. More broadly the existence of divine triads is well known with many examples, including the Capitoline Triad. Indeed this observation was a major factor in the development of Georges Dumézil's theory of Indo-European religion as formed of three functions: sacred sovereignty, force, and fecundity (Dumézil 1948). I do not propose to discuss Dumézil's or similar ideas here, but it is sufficient to note that they exist. Nevertheless, there is a danger that divine triads will be artificially created, as I believe has been done in the case of the Heliopolitan Triad.

It is useful to reflect briefly on the deities of Palmyra. Kaizer (2016a) reconsiders the question of whether the term "pantheon" can be used to describe the collection of deities at Palmyra, and a number of the observations made in the context of Palmyra are revealing and parallel the situation of the Heliopolitan deities. Firstly, Kaizer uses the term "divine constellation" to describe groups of deities. There is clear evidence of groups of deities that appear together in inscriptions and on reliefs (Kaizer 2016a, 18). The Pamyrene "Triad" of Bel, Yarhibol, and Aglibol is one example, with all three deities worshipped at the Temple of Bel and later appearing on coins minted by the city. Nevertheless, the sanctuary itself was most commonly referred to as the Temple of Bel, while some inscriptions name it the "house of the gods of the Palmyrenes" (Kaizer 2016a, 19). Furthermore it seems the goddess Astarte may have joined the group of three in the second century, and it is also clear that a variety of other deities

5 Kevin Butcher labelled the phenomenon "triadomania" (Butcher 2003, 342).

were worshipped at the Temple of Bel. The three main deities appear on reliefs with other deities; so, for example, Bel, Yarhibol, and Aglibol have been found together with Arsu (Kaizer 2016a, 25). It seems clear that deities were commonly grouped together, but rather than forming a pantheon, they formed divine constellations that were dynamic in nature rather than a logically constructed hierarchy.

To conclude, it is best to follow Ted Kaizer's argument that to try to understand the pantheon in the Near East using our modern divisions is a just grave oversimplification. We cannot be certain that a local pantheon existed in the sense of an organised structure in which each deity had its place and function (Kaizer 2006, 31). Kaizer further suggests that the world depicted by Philo of Byblos depiction of the Phoenician gods is constructed by later Greek writers rather than being a true representation of Phoenician belief. Worshippers placed their own interpretation on deities that were unknown to them. How do we relate Jupiter Dolichenus and Jupiter Heliopolitanus to Capitoline Jupiter in Rome? We simply do not know whether there was a connection. For Kaizer these local gods borrowed some epithets of the Capitoline gods in order to achieve benefits from being associated with the imperial state cult (Kaizer 2006, 44). There was an element of continuous interplay between oriental deities and Greco-Roman imagery (Kaizer 2006, 44).

One possibility does remain, and that is that Jupiter Heliopolitanus, Venus, and Mercury came to be seen as a divine triad during the Roman period, perhaps as late as the third century. This would match the observations from the three propylon inscriptions. If this were the case, the construction of the Heliopolitan Triad would have been a late development under the influence of other divine triads, such as the Capitoline Triad. There is insufficient evidence of the existence of a triad and certainly insufficient evidence to demonstrate the development of one in the later Roman period.

However, the "divine constellation" gives a realistic alternative view to the concept of a triad. Under this framework, the Heliopolitan deities were a "divine constellation," a grouping of deities that appeared regularly but one that rather than being fixed was fluid and contested. The deities could be understood together or apart or grouped into other divine constellations with different deities.

The question remains around how the deities of the so-called triad should be interpreted, Jupiter Heliopolitanus in particular. As Kropp has demonstrated, there is no need to invoke syncretism between Jupiter/Zeus and Helios (Kropp 2010, 260–261). *Interpretatio Romana* offers one possible explanation where Jupiter Heliopolitanus is actually "Jupiter of Heliopolis." The Latin name Jupiter could have been equated with an unknown indigenous deity and later spread

beyond Baalbek-Heliopolis in a similar way to the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus (Turcan 1996, 159–169). The lack of evidence of earlier religious activity at Baalbek-Heliopolis makes this difficult to prove.

In all likelihood, individual worshippers made their own interpretations of these deities, relating them to the Greco-Roman pantheon and to Near Eastern traditions in ways now lost. We could see the three gods of the "triad" as competitors to each other rather than as a collective. The Temple of Mercury was deliberately placed on the top of Sheikh Abdallah Hill in a prominent location where it would not be overlooked next to the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, a theme already highlighted in Chapter 9 and fully developed using GIS in Chapter 11. As noted above, representations of these deities demonstrate that Jupiter was not always given prominence. In conclusion, the Heliopolitan Triad is, at best, an oversimplification of a complex system of deities that we little understand and, at worst, a fiction.

## 10.3 Baalbek-Heliopolis and Imperial Patronage

The scale of the religious complex at Baalbek-Heliopolis leads immediately to the question of the degree to which successive emperors were involved in the development of the city, a theme already discussed in Chapter 9. The fact that Baalbek-Heliopolis was part of a Latin colony increases the likelihood of an imperial association. After all, it would seem strange indeed to see the spontaneous construction of a massive Temple in a location remote from major cities without imperial involvement. Nevertheless, there is no direct evidence that any emperor was involved in the design, construction, or funding of any of the Temples at Baalbek-Heliopolis; there are no inscriptions that attribute monuments to any emperor, and there is little historical evidence for an imperial association. Indeed, the limited evidence for imperial interest that survives dates from late antiquity, long after the buildings were constructed. Some limited evidence of direct imperial involvement may come from the columns of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus. These columns were carved from Aswan granite in the quarries at Mons Claudianus, and this suggests some form of imperial involvement to Roman architectural specialist, Edmund Thomas (2007, 46). The so-called Temple of Bacchus could also have been attributed to Antoninus Pius on the basis of its size, suggests Thomas (2007, 48). Despite the lack of direct evidence, there is a body of epigraphic and numismatic evidence that points to close imperial associations, particularly with the Severan emperors and with Philip the Arab. The evidence for links with the emperor from ancient historians is quite weak.

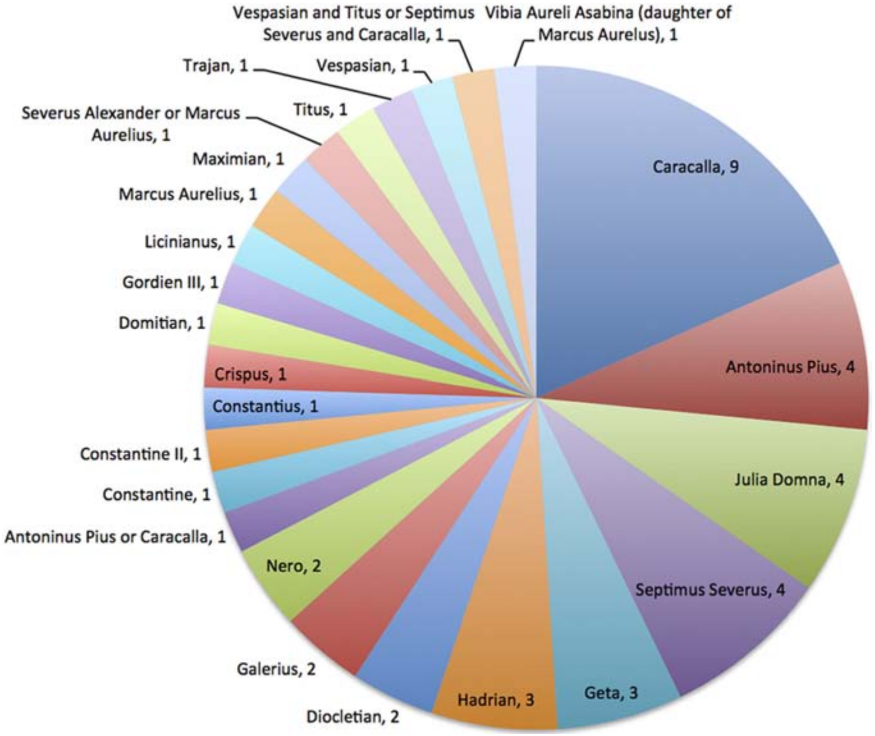


FIGURE 59 Dedications to members of the imperial family

Figure 59 and Figure 60 illustrate data on dedications to members of the imperial family recovered from Baalbek-Heliopolis and the Bekaa valley. Figure 59 shows the percentage of dedications made to each individual member of the imperial family, while Figure 60 shows the dedications made to members of several imperial dynasties. Care needs to be exercised when interpreting this data because of the significant increase in dedicatory inscriptions across the empire from the second century onward. There should be no surprise, therefore, that only two inscriptions were recovered that relate to the Julio-Claudian dynasty. What is clear is that the largest group of inscriptions was associated with the Severan dynasty and in particular with Septimus Severus, his wife, Julia Domna, and his son Caracalla. This suggests that there was some association between the family of Septimus Severus and Baalbek-Heliopolis, although the precise nature of that relationship remains unknown. While Septimus Severus himself was from North Africa, he was posted to Syria, where he served under the governor, Pertinax (*Historia Augusta* Septimus Severus, 3). Severus's wife, Julia Domna, was born in Emesa, Syria (Herodian V.3.2). Given the proximity of Emesa to Baalbek-Heliopolis, a close link between the family

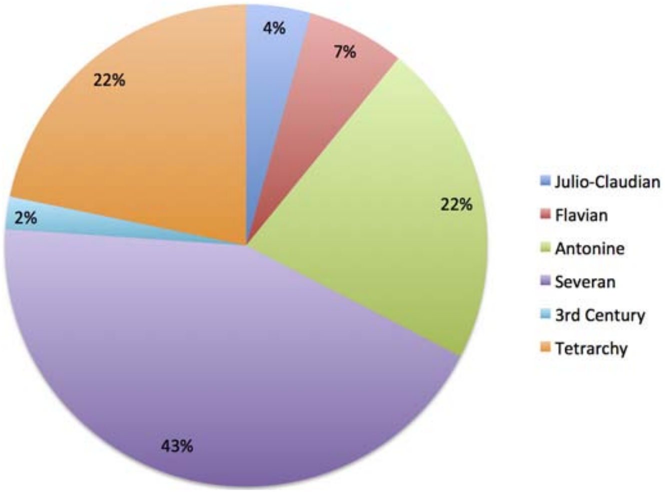


FIGURE 60 Dedications to members of the imperial family per dynasty

of Septimus Severus and the city is very plausible. The spread of inscriptions from the Antonine emperors is perhaps to be expected, as this period corresponds to the growth of the "epigraphic habit" (MacMullen 1982), but there is nothing to indicate a special association with one individual emperor. Aside from the inscriptions associated with the Severans, it is difficult to draw firm conclusions on frequency given the low overall number of inscriptions contributing to the analysis.

Roman provincial coins provide more evidence for an imperial association with Baalbek-Heliopolis. The sequence of coins produced by Berytus and later Heliopolis is a potentially significant sources of information. As noted in Chapter 9, the advent of coin issues minted by Heliopolis is significant evidence for its promotion to an independent Latin colony by Septimus Severus (Sawaya 2009, 147–149). These coins were minted by the colonia, and therefore the design reflects local concerns rather than direct imperial association (Heuchert 2005, 40–44). Rheidt argues that emperors such as Caracalla donated money to Baalbek-Heliopolis and that a donation from Septimus Severus, a *ius Italicum*, was shown on the first coinage of the city (Rheidt 2006, 232). Rheidt may well be correct in this assertion, but it remains conjecture without definitive evidence.

Coins of Septimus Severus from Heliopolis show two different illustrations of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, one with the decastyle face of the Temple and the second an isometric view (Sawaya 2009, 343–344). This presumably reflects the promotion of Heliopolis to an independent Latin colony by Severus, as these were among the first coins issued after the grant of colonial

status. Coins showing the isometric view were later issued in the name of Geta, Caracalla, Philip the Arab, and his wife Otacilia Severa (Sawaya 2009, 350–353). As described in Chapter 9, coins of Philip the Arab also show the propylon to the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus and the Temple of Mercury. The use of these images on coins probably reflects the completion of the two building projects during his reign. Coins issued in the name of Valerian by Heliopolis show an isometric view of two octastyle Temples, but it is not clear what buildings are represented (Sawaya 2009, 354). What is unusual about these coins is that none of them depict the cult statue itself, preferring to depict external views of the temple. This suggests that there may have been some local restriction on the depiction of Jupiter Heliopolitanus (Kropp 2018). Coins issued in the name of Valerian and Gallienus contain a reference to Capitoline Games of the Heliopolitan Festival (Sawaya 2009, 355–356, Jidejian 1975, 29). It is clear then that some kind of religious festival was held at Baalbek-Heliopolis at least once in the period of reigns of Valerian and his son, 253–268 CE, and possibly may have been a recurring festival. The imperial connection here may reflect Valerian's recapture of Roman Syria from Sassanid control in around 254 CE (Millar 1993, 163).

With very few inscriptions from the first century and no coin evidence prior to 194 CE, there are few sources of information on imperial involvement early in the Roman development of Baalbek-Heliopolis. Two inscriptions recovered from Baalbek provide evidence of patronage by the client kings of Rome in the first century CE. The first was from a statue base: "Agrippa the great king, pious, Caesar's friend, friend of the Romans, patron of the colony, [statue] erected at the expense of the city" (*IGLS* 2759). This statue base was recovered from a location to the southwest of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus and carried a bronze statue. The king mentioned may be either Agrippa I or Agrippa II. Such examples of royal patronage in Roman cities are rare (Rey-Coquais 1967, 83). A second example of royal patronage has also been found at Baalbek; as noted earlier the king Sohaemus was also a patron of the colony (Rey-Coquais 1967, 83–84): "Gaius Julius Sohaemus the great king, son of the great king Samsigeramus, Caesar's friend, friend of the Romans honoured the consular insignia, …, patron of the colony, *duumvir quinquennial* Lucius Vitellius Sossianus, son of Lucius, of the tribe Fabia" (*IGLS* 2760). Pushtein proposed that the inscription refers to Samsigeramus II and his son, who ruled Emesa in the time of Nero and Vespasian (Rey-Coquais 1967, 84).[6]

6 Otto Pushtein was the archaeologist who led the 1900–1904 German excavation programme at Baalbek.

The two inscriptions clearly demonstrate the political importance of Baalbek-Heliopolis and the colonia in the first century CE. The inscriptions confirm the words of Josephus that local client kings were patrons of the colony of Berytus-Heliopolis. This patronage indicates that the kingdoms surrounding the colony and spread across the Levant were integrated in quite a fundamental way with the Roman province of Syria and the Roman colony of Berytus-Heliopolis. The client kings played a full role in Roman politics, including, in the case of Agrippa I, the succession of the emperor. It was perfectly natural for them to take part in the life of the major Roman cities in the region, of which Baalbek-Heliopolis was one. Furthermore, this involvement of neighbouring client kings fits well with the proposal discussed at length in Chapter 3, that Herod the Great was involved in some way in the construction of the First Temple podium. The picture of client kings gives a strong indication of imperial involvement at Baalbek-Heliopolis early in its development. There would no reason for these clients to become involved as patrons of the Roman colony if the "project" was not of regional significance and important to Rome and hence the emperor.

The last consideration to make in respect of imperial associations with Baalbek-Heliopolis is evidence for the existence of the imperial cult. There is no direct evidence of any imperial cult activity at Baalbek-Heliopolis, but colonies elsewhere did build Temples dedicated to the imperial cult; for example, the colony at Tarraco in the province of Hispania Citerior received permission to build a Temple dedicated to Divus Augustus in 15 CE (Tacitus *Ann.* 1.78).

## 10.4 Euergetism by Private Citizens

To what extent does epigraphy provide evidence of euergetism at Baalbek-Heliopolis? As noted earlier, there is some evidence of patronage from local Levantine client kings, but is there any from the local population, and what does this imply about the funding of Temple construction at Baalbek-Heliopolis? The three inscriptions, *IGLS* 2711, 2712, and 2713, previously discussed in this chapter with reference to the triad provide good evidence that at least some elements of the construction involved private funds. All three inscriptions relate to the donation of columns in the hall of the propylon to the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus (Rey-Coquais 1967, 45–49), and by implication public subscription was used to fund at least the propylon to the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus. As most of the remaining inscriptions were not recovered in situ, it is impossible to tie them directly to architectural features, and hence they cannot be linked directly to the construction of the Temple in the same

way. Nevertheless, the large number of inscriptions on statue bases such as *IGLS* 2789 and 2790 leave no doubt that private funds were responsible for at least some elements of the Temple décor at Baalbek-Heliopolis. Lucius Antoninus Silo, for example, gave a rectangular base that supported an object in precious metal weighing 26 kilos (*IGLS* 2714). Euergetism was clearly an element of the construction of the Temples of Baalbek-Heliopolis, but it is not possible to assess the proportion of funding that came from private sources versus that which came from imperial sources or from royal patrons.

## 10.5 Veterans and the Roman Army

As a veteran colony, Baalbek-Heliopois is expected to be a site of military involvement. Nevertheless, epigraphic and numismatic evidence can reveal some detailed information about the nature of the relationships between the Roman Army, army veterans, and Baalbek-Heliopolis. Here I focus on three themes: evidence for direct military involvement at Baalbek-Heliopolis, the legions that were present in the region and evidence for their presence at Baalbek-Heliopolis, and finally, information about individual military personnel. Before beginning to address these themes, it is worth a brief digression on the general issue of the Roman Army and the role religion played within it.

As there was no separation between religious and social life in ancient Rome, every religious act expressed a specific community identity (Hilali 2004, 150). J. Scheid argues that every Roman practised a cult only because it was associated to a particular social group (Scheid 1990, 112), and by implication soldiers participated in cults that emphasised unity with their military peers, at least to some extent. There are clear examples where worshipping a deity was associated with belonging to the military community; a vexillation of the Third Legio Augusta worshipped the same god, Yarhibol, as a cohort of Syrian archers (Smith 2013, 169).

Is there evidence that Jupiter Heliopolitanus or any of the other Heliopolitan deities played a role as the focus of military identity across the Roman world? It is difficult to say how widespread this would have been, and it is clear that dedications to Jupiter Heliopolitanus by Roman soldiers were far less frequent than those to Mithras or Jupiter Dolichenus. Nevertheless, there were some dedications made by soldiers and recovered from locations in provinces on the other side of the empire. A group of Ituraean soldiers made a dedication to Jupiter Heliopolitanus in Rome (*ILS* 2546), and a senior centurion from Berytus made a dedication to the same god in Nimes (*ILS* 4288). Also, the dedicated to Jupiter Heliopolitanus at Carnuntum was in an area associated with military activity.

What evidence is there for direct organised Roman military involvement at Baalbek-Heliopolis or in the Bekaa? Unfortunately, at present there is none beyond the circumstantial evidence that was noted earlier, in the use of architects with experience of the Western Roman Empire evident in the design of the early "Temple of the Muses." There is evidence of direct Roman Army involvement in the construction of Roman Temples in clear military contexts. At Dura-Europos for example, a Mithraeum, a Temple dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus, a "military Temple" of unknown dedication, and a Temple of Zeus were constructed within the northern area of the city occupied by the Roman Army and converted into an army camp (Leriche, Coquegniot, and Pontbriand 2011, 35). These Temples, alongside the Temple of Bel and the Temple of Azzanathkona located within the annexed area, appear to have become exclusive to the Roman Army, as no inscriptions from female worshippers have been identified from the time of the annexation onward, although female dedications were recovered from the Parthian era (Leriche, Coquegniot, and Pontbriand 2011, 35). However, at Baalbek-Heliopolis, while there are several inscriptions from individual soldiers and veterans, there is nothing to suggest organised involvement, and none of the Temples lies within a specific military context.

A number of inscriptions reveal details of Roman military careers. The first inscription of note relates to the career of Gaius Julius Quadrato Bassus, who was governor of Syria from 116–117 under Trajan (*IGLS* 2775).[7] As such, Bassus preceded Hadrian, who was governor of Syria in 117 until the death of Trajan in the same year. Bassus was sent to Dacia as governor, where he died in office (Smallwood 1966, No. 214).[8] The inscription, which has been substantially restored from fragments, gives the *cursus honorum* of Bassus, beginning with his military career and ending with his role as a provincial governor (Rey-Coquais 1967, 93). Bassus had a substantial military career and was attached to Trajan's command staff during the Dacian war (Rey-Coquais 1967, 94). Here we see the career of a very important officer and provincial governor honoured at Baalbek-Heliopolis. A similar inscription describing the career of Bassus has been recovered from Pergamum, the place of his birth (Smallwood 1966, No. 214).

An honorific inscription dedicated to A. Lucius Antoninus Naso demonstrates the heights to which those from the colony of Berytus-Heliopolis could

7 *IGLS* 2775 is a fragmentary inscription recovered from Baalbek.

8 Note that no concordance between this inscription published by Smallwood and *CIL* or *ILS* is currently available.

rise (*IGLS* 2781).[9] Antoninus Naso had a military career described by Rey-Coquais as "glittering" (Rey-Coquais 1967, 100). Naso rose from centurion of the Third Legion Cyrenaica and Eighth Legion Gemina to become tribune of the first cohort of Praetorians and then later to become imperial procurator of Bithinia-Pontus. Naso's career spanned from the reign of Claudius to that of Vespasian, and the dedication dates from after 77–78, when Naso is known, from a milestone (*CIL III* 6993) and from coins (Rey-Coquais 1967, 101), to have held the procuratorship of Bithinia. Indeed an Antoninus Naso, praetorian tribune, was cashiered by Galba according to Tacitus (Hist. 1.20), and Vespasian later reinstated him. Naso's career demonstrates how integrated the colony of Berytus-Heliopolis was with the rest of the empire. This is not unusual but reflects the fact that Berytus-Heliopolis was no different from any other provincial colony.

Members of the Roman Army with a variety of different ranks dedicated the remaining inscriptions with military associations. Three centurions are listed (*IGLS* 2779, 2789),[10] one of whom was a *primus pilus* (*IGLS* 2782).[11] Other ranks and appointments were a *speculator* (*IGLS* 2711), a *praefectus fabrum* (*IGLS* 2794),[12] and a *tribunus laticlavius* (*IGLS* 2797).[13] There are too few inscriptions to draw any conclusions, yet apart from the *speculator*, these are all very senior legionary positions.

Another example of a Roman with a senior military rank is Marcus Alfius, an *aquilifer* of Fifteenth Legion Apollinaris (*IGLS* 2796),[14] who dedicated an inscription honouring Velius Gaius Rufus. Velius Rufus had a very successful military career as a centurion and tribune in several legions under the Flavians and Trajan. He was decorated by Vespasian and Titus during the Jewish War and then received the *corona muralis*, awarded to the first man to climb the wall of the enemy, in the Dacian War. Velius Rufus also fought in Mauretania and Germany. After his military career, he was raised to equestrian status and followed a career in administration, with posts in Pannonia and Rhaetia. We do not know what linked Velius Rufus to Heliopolis. Nevertheless, he was honoured there, and his career again illustrates a pattern of a successful military career followed by a rise into senior administrative positions. Again, there are many examples

9 *IGLS* 2781 was recovered in three fragments during the excavations of 1900–1901.

10 *IGLS* 2779 was found in fragments in the ramparts of the Arab fortress, and *IGLS* 2789 is on a statue base from the Great Court.

11 *IGLS* 2782 is on a statue base that was found in the foundations of the Christian Basilica.

12 *IGLS* 2794 is on a limestone statue base recovered from Baalbek.

13 *IGLS* 2797 is a fragmentary inscription recovered from Baalbek.

14 *IGLS* 2796 is on a limestone statue base recovered from Baalbek.

of this type of inscription across the Roman world, and Baalbek-Heliopolis is not unusual. This is the key point: Berytus-Heliopolis was exactly like other provincial colonies and was not distinctively Near Eastern in character.

Even setting aside the honorific inscriptions that list large numbers of legions for career military men, a considerable number of legions are mentioned in inscriptions. The following legions are noted on inscriptions either as the legion of the dedicator or the dedicand, Third Gallica (*IGLS* 2711), Third Augusta (*IGLS* 2714 and 2782),[15] Seventh Gemina (*IGLS* 2779), Eighth Gemina (*IGLS* 2789),[16] First Adiutrix (*IGLS* 2789), and Second Traiana Fortis (*IGLS* 2794); the dedication in honour of Velius Rufus (*IGLS* 2775) listed all the legions he served in, including Twelfth Fulminata, First Adiutrix, Second Adiutrix, Second Augusta, Eighth Augusta, Ninth Hispana, Fourteenth Gemina, Twentieth Victrix, and Twenty-First Rapax, along with the urban cohort Thirteenth Cohors Urbana. The inscription dedicated to Naso (*IGLS* 2781) listed the Third Legions Cyrenaica, Thirteenth Gemina, First Italica, and Fourteenth Gemina, along with the Fourth Vigilum and the urban cohorts Fifteenth Urbana and Eleventh Urbana, and finally the praetorian cohorts Ninth Praetoriae and First Praetoriae. Two further inscription fragments list Tenth Fretensis (*IGLS* 2788)[17] and Twenty-Second Legion (*IGLS* 2756),[18] which could refer to either Twenty-Second Primigenia or Twenty-Second Deiotariana. Given this extensive list, I will now explore which were linked to the region and in what ways.

Several of the legions mentioned had clear links to the region. There is evidence of veterans belonging to Seventh Fulminata taking part in the official settlement of Syria and Palestine made by Nero (Mann and Roxan 1983, 42). Lucius Gerellanus Fronto (*IGLS* 2787)[19] was *praefectus* of this legion, which was based at Raphanea during the first century and in particular during the Jewish revolt (Rey-Coquais 1967, 106–107). He was also *primus pilus* of Tenth Fretensis, which was itself was sent to Raphanea and was deployed during the Jewish revolt (Rey-Coquais 1967, 106). Decimus Velius Fidus was honoured as governor of Syria in *IGLS* 2777, and he is known from other sources to have received a petition from twenty-two veterans of the *Tenth* Fretensis asking him to return them to Alexandria (Rey-Coquais 1967, 96). The Third Legio Gallica was sta-

15 *IGLS* 2714 is on a rectangular base found in the foundations of the isolated column in the northern side of the Great Court.

16 *IGLS* 2789 is on a statue base from the Great Court.

17 *IGLS* 2788 is on a fragment of an octagonal base in white limestone and it was found in the court of the so-called Temple of Bacchus.

18 *IGLS* 2756 is on a limestone block recovered from Baalbek.

19 *IGLS* 2787 is on a statue base recovered during the excavations of 1900–1901.

tioned in Tyre or Sidon during the third century (Mann and Roxan 1983, 43), and it was this legion to which the *speculator* Longinus belonged (*IGLS* 2711). The Third Cyrenaica, one of the legions listed by Naso, drew its recruits from the largely Semitic-speaking populations of Auranitis (Mann and Roxan 1983, 42).

Most of the remaining legions may have been in the region for a short period. Second Traiana Fortis was probably in Judea from 117 CE until it was deployed in Alexandria in around 127 CE (Isaac and Roll 1982, 131). The date of *IGLS* 2794 is unknown, so it is unclear whether the inscription was carved while the legion was in Judea or when it was in Alexandria.[20] First Adiutrix was initially based in Germany and later in Dacia and Pannonia (Webster 1998, 50, 59, 64), although it was involved with Trajan's campaign against the Parthians from 115–117 CE (Webster 1998, 64, Rey-Coquais 1967, 108). Eighth Gemina, also noted on *IGLS* 2789 was also involved with Trajan's Parthian campaign (Rey-Coquais 1967, 108), although its main legionary base was at Apulum until the withdrawal from Dacia in 270 CE (Găzdac et al. 2009, 1). Again, the date of the inscription is unknown, so it is unclear if this is associated with Trajan's Parthian campaign or not. Third Legio Augusta was based in North Africa essentially throughout its existence (Farnum 2005, 18). At the time Lucius Antoninus Silo (*IGLS* 2714) made his dedication under Hadrian, the legion was based at Lambaesis in Numidia (Rey-Coquais 1967, 50), but Silo was from Heliopolis and stated this in the inscription.

Seventh Legio Gemina was based at Léon in Spain (Farnum 2005, 21), and while it is known to have been involved in engagements in Britain and Germany and may have been deployed in Numidia during the Bar Kochba revolt[21] (Bellido 1950, 463), it is not believed to have ever been deployed in the eastern half of the Roman Empire. The inscription *IGLS* 2779 is therefore unique in the sense that there is no direct link between the legion and the Near East. Rey-Coquais (1967, 97–98) suggests that Philippicus was from Heliopolis, and this may have been the case, but there is no evidence either way.

What are the implications of these inscriptions for legionary recruitment? The limited evidence is consistent with the pattern of growing local recruitment of replacements into existing legions from the second century onward, described by Mann and Roxan (1983, 64–65). Lucius Antoninus Silo (*IGLS* 2714) was clearly from Heliopolis and served in North Africa, but he could well have

20 Unfortunately, there is no dating evidence for this inscription available, on stylist grounds or otherwise.

21 Tombstones from VII Gemina were discovered at Lambaesis (*CIL* VIII 3075, 3226, 3245, 326) and may therefore have covered a deployment of III Augusta to Judea.

been recruited to Third Legio Augusta when it was on deployment in Judea. The name *Antoninus Silo* also appears on *IGLS* 2782, described as a *primus pilus*. This second Silo is likely to be a different person with the same nomen and cognomen, suggesting the possibility of a family relationship.

During the reign of the Emperor Philip I, "the Arab" (AD 244–249), bronze coins were struck by the mint at Heliopolis in honour of the legions Fifth Macedonia and Eighth Augusta (Okamura 1988, 126).[22] These two legions were based a great distance from Baalbek-Heliopolis at the time the coins were issued, with the Eighth Augusta guarding the Rhine and the Fifth Macedonia controlling trans-Danubian territory around Dacia, Potaissa, and Porolissensis. A number of scholars linked these coins with deployments in Gordian III's campaign against Persia (Pink 1935, 98–99, Stein 1932, 117). However, Okamura suggest that these coins honoured the original veteran settlements at the foundation of the colony rather than reflecting their presence in the Levant under Philip (Okamura 1988, 128).

The inscriptions and numismatic evidence relating to the Roman Army from Baalbek-Heliopolis and the Bekaa do not present many surprises. They are, rather, entirely consistent with what might be expected of the Roman Army. It was mobile, and soldiers and legions could be sent across the empire at the urgent request of the emperor. Soldiers were recruited from one place only to serve out their careers thousands of miles away. The army also provided an opportunity for a small number of individuals to rise through the ranks and achieve positions of high standing within the empire.

## 10.6 Civilians, Public Officials, and Families

It is informative to examine in more detail some of the inscriptions that note information about the social status of the dedicator. There are four categories that I will examine: slaves, freedmen and freedwomen, local public officials, and aristocrats, including senators.

The inscriptions numbered *IGLS* 2717 and *IGLS* 2952 were both dedicated by pairs of slaves. Foebus and Myla dedicated the first of these inscriptions to Jupiter Heliopolitanus and the emperor. Seyrig (1961, 125–126) interpreted them as being public slaves associated with the colony of Baalbek-Heliopolis.

22 No general coin reference numbers have been so far identified for these two coins. Okamura notes that one of the coins was reported only by Cohen (1880, 127 no. 333.) The second coin is held in the collection of Cabinet des Médailles in Paris and is no. 130 in Cohen.

The use of single names and the names themselves strongly suggest that Seyrig was correct in asserting these were slaves, although there is no evidence of the position they held. The inscription is on a square limestone cippus, 222 cm high and 87 cm wide, and written in Latin with an uneven script. The cippus was recovered from a garden 400 m west of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus. Callistus and Apollonus dedicated the second inscription, IGLS 2952, in honour of Jupiter Heliopolitanus at Deir Labas, on the west side of the Bekaa valley. The names of the dedicants again indicate that these were slaves. The inscription was in Latin on a small limestone altar, 137 cm × 58 cm × 73 cm and has been dated to the reign of Hadrian (Rey-Coquais 1967, 213–214). There is nothing unusual in slaves dedicating inscriptions of this type.

Six inscriptions, including five from Baalbek-Heliopolis (*IGLS* 2713, 2719, 2791, 2793, 2798) and one from Timnin Tahta, near Zahle (*IGLS* 2926), can clearly be identified with freedmen and freedwomen. The first inscription, *IGLS* 2713, has already been discussed in the context of the Heliopolitan Triad, as it was dedicated to Jupiter, Mercury, and Venus. It is also among the three inscriptions that were on column bases in the propylon, suggesting that this building was constructed from funds provided by public subscription. The name of the dedicator is partially lost and was either [Ab]bas or [Sa]bas, of Semitic origin (Rey-Coquais 1967, 48–49). What is known is that this was a freed imperial slave of Septimus Severus and, given the nature of the inscription, was an individual with some degree of wealth. This inscription reinforces the link between the Severans and Baalbek-Heliopolis. The second inscription, *IGLS* 2719, is more modest in nature, being inscribed on a limestone altar 152 cm × 76 cm × 101 cm that was found in the Hexagonal Courtyard. It was dedicated to Jupiter Heliopolitanus and Baebius Novatus by Quintus Baebius Januarius, a freedman, and his wife, Baebia Thallusa. It is clear that Januarius was honouring his patron and former owner.

*IGLS* 2791, 2793, and 2798 are all honorific Latin inscriptions dedicated by former slaves that include some description of the careers of the person honoured by them. All three inscriptions were on statue bases recovered from Baalbek, although only the first was from a confirmed context, as it was found in the foundations of the isolated column north of the altars in the Great Court. Marcus Licinius Fyrmus Frontonianus dedicated this first inscription to Marcus Licinius Pompenna Potitus Urbanus and Jupiter Heliopolitanus. The career of Pompenna is described in the inscription, including his elevation to the Equestrian Order by Hadrian. The freedman Publius Statilius Acilianus dedicated the second inscription to Publius Statilius Justus Sentianus. Justus was a *praefectus fabrum* and a decurion of the colony. The date of the inscription is unknown, but the military prefecture, followed by the civilian post as a decurion of the

colony, suggests Justus may have been a veteran settled at Baalbek-Heliopolis. *IGLS* 2798 was dedicated to an unknown person, as the top of the inscription has been damaged. The dedication was made by Hennunes, a man with a Semitic name and a freedman of Marcus Antoninus Hoplonis (Rey-Coquais 1967, 117–118). Hoplon may have been related to Lucius Antoninus Naso, honoured in *IGLS* 2781 (Rey-Coquais 1967, 99–101). The individual honoured by the inscription had a military career including the award of the *coronae aurae*. All three of these inscriptions honour individuals with successful careers, with at least one, Justus, a decurion of the colony of Berytus-Heliopolis. They are also clearly designed to demonstrate the association of the freedman with the honoured individual. *IGLS* 2791 and 2798 were long inscriptions and presumably quite expensive to have made.

The last inscription dedicated by a freedman or freedwoman is *IGLS* 2926, recovered from a village close to Zahle on the western side of the Bekaa valley and southwest of Baalbek-Heliopolis. The inscription is in Latin on a limestone altar that was reused in the construction of a mosque. Aulus, Gaius, and their freedman Libanius dedicated the altar to Jupiter.

Several inscriptions relate to named officials of the colony of Berytus-Heliopolis and later the colony of Heliopolis after it became independent. The first two of these, *IGLS* 2716 and 2743, relate to decurions of the colony of Heliopolis. *IGLS* 2716 is on a cippus that carries an octagonal statue base. The Latin inscription is dedicated to Jupiter Heliopolitanus and the emperor Gordian III and as such can be closely dated to between 238 and 244 (Rey-Coquais 1967, 51–52). The base was found in the Hexagonal Court, and given the date, it is unlikely to have been moved far from its original site, if at all. The decurion who dedicated the statue and accompanying statue was Lucius Julius Severus, son of Moschus. The name Moschus is the transliteration of a Greek name that could derive from a Semitic root (Rey-Coquais 1967, 51–52). This suggests that Lucius Julius Severus was from a family that originated in the Hellenistic Levant, although his own name is entirely Roman in style. *IGLS* 2743 is in Latin on a limestone altar 1530 × 870 × 1570 mm that was found in the foundations of the Christian Basilica and hence was likely to have been originally displayed in the Great Court. Curiously, however, the altar was set up in response to the oracle of the god Connaros. This may seem out of place in the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, but Rey-Coquais (1967, 72) links this with *IGLS* 2841, a Greek inscription that was next to a bust that originally formed part of the ceiling of the so-called Temple of Bacchus, and hence I assume this was a depiction of the same deity. The inscription was dedicated by Baebius Aurelianus Dius on behalf of his wife and children. The altar must date from after the foundation of the colony of Heliopolis in its own right under Septimus Severus. There is

little known about the deity Connaros, although given that there are two references to the deity from Baalbek and that one of these was made by a decurion, he likely was worshipped at Baalbek-Heliopolis.

A third inscription, *IGLS* 2760, was made by the *duumvir quiquennalis* Lucius Vitellius Sossianus. This inscription is on a limestone statue base and is, as noted earlier, dedicated to Gaius Julius Sohaemus, prince of Emesa and patron of the colony of Berytus-Heliopolis (Rey-Coquais 1967, 83–84). The inscription can be dated to the first century, and a Lucius Vitellius Sossianus is known from a military diploma of 60 CE. If this is the same individual, this suggests that further veteran settlement took place in the colony of Berytus-Heliopolis under Nero. The exact location where the inscription was found is unknown, but it was recovered by Puchstein in 1901, suggesting it was found in the Great Court when it was cleared.

The final inscription referring to an official of the colony is *IGLS* 2742, found at Niha. The inscription is in Latin on a limestone stele 2 m high with a bust of a man and a woman. The stele was set up by Quintus Vesius Petilianus for himself and his wife. Petilianus was a *flamen augustalis* and a decurion and quaestor of the colony of Berytus-Heliopolis. The stele has been dated on stylistic grounds to the reign of Hadrian (Rey-Coquais 1967, 207–208). Petilianus was clearly a senior public official in the colony of Berytus-Heliopolis. The choice of Niha to erect the stele suggests he wished to be associated with the cult of the indigenous deity located there.

*IGLS* 2795 was dedicated to Titus Statilius Maximus Severus Lucius Juventius Munitus, a man from a high aristocratic family. He was a senator who held several high offices, including augur, *decemviri stlitibus iudicandis*,[23] *quaestor augusti*,[24] tribune of the plebs, and *praetor* (of unknown type). The inscription also describes Statilius Maximus as a patron of the colony. The date of the inscription is unknown, and it is on a limestone cippus that was recovered from the foundations of the Christian Basilica. A number of other individuals that were probably from the same family are also known: Titus Statilius Maximus Severus Hadrianus was *consul ordinarius* in 115 CE, Titus Statilius Maximus was *consul ordinarius* in 144 CE, and Titus Statilius Severus was *consul ordinarii* in 171 CE (Degrassi 1952, 34,41,48). Furthermore, from Berytus a Titus Statilius Maximus is known from an inscription found in the sanctuary of Baal-Marcod (Seyrig 1931, 320) and Titus Statilius Maximus Severus, an equestrian, is known from a graffito in Egypt (Bernand and Bernard 1960, 128). The conclusion is

23 The *Decemviri Stlitibus Iudicandis* was a judicial position in a panel of ten who judges cases that depended on the status of individuals as free (Mousourakis 2003, 195).

24 The quaestor appointed by the emperor.

therefore that the Statilius Maximus family was powerful and influential in Rome and in the Near East during the second century and that they were clearly associated with the colony of Berytus-Heliopolis.

Statilianus Afidenus, as noted earlier, was a veteran who dedicated an altar to Mercury at Baalbek-Heliopolis in the early part of the first century CE (Salamé-Sarkis 1987, 131). Two other inscriptions can possibly be identified as having been dedicated by members of the same family. The first, *IGLS* 2737, was from a limestone block recovered from Sheikh Abdallah Hill. The inscription is a dedication to Mercury by Lucius Afidenus Statilianus Valens and dates from the first century. The second, *IGLS* 2738, was on a fragment of architrave found in the northeast corner of the Great Court (Rey-Coquais 1967, 67) of unknown date. This second inscription was dedicated by Lucius Afidenus Philippus and was made to Mercury and Apollo. If these individuals are related, as seems likely, then this represents three inscriptions to Mercury by three generations of the same family, beginning with one of the original veteran settlers. This family was probably influential in both the colony and the cult of Mercury at Heliopolis.

These "civilian" inscriptions illustrate a range of different inscriptions from the range of social classes from slave to senator. They give insight into some of the individuals and families that were involved in the development of the colony of Berytus-Heliopolis and later the colony of Heliopolis in its own right. The inscriptions that can be associated with families show the development of the community from its beginnings in veteran settlement.

## 10.7 Voting Tribes

Several references are made to the Fabia tribe in inscriptions from Baalbek and the Bekaa. In eleven inscriptions, the dedicator of the inscription lists their tribal affiliation as *Fabia*, and this represents 3.6 percent of the whole sample and known dedicators (*IGLS* 2714, 2721, 2745, 2748, 2749, 2760, 2769 *bis*, 2783, 2794, 2917, and 2953). More significant is the fact that only one other tribe is mentioned in the set of inscriptions recovered from Baalbek and the Bekaa. The question is, how should this information be interpreted? To understand this, it is first necessary to explore the origin and development of the Roman tribes.

The Roman Tribal Assembly, the *comitia tributa*, was one of the two elements of the Roman republican constitutional system that allowed all Roman citizens to take part (Crawford 1992, 194–197). The *comitia tributa* consisted of thirty-five voting tribes after 241 BCE when the last two tribes were created (Taylor 1960, 40). The tribes were expanded naturally within each tribal area, although some

of them were extended in the first quarter of the second century BCE (Taylor 1960, 154). By the second century, there was inequality in the size of the tribes, and usually the tribes outside Rome were the largest (Taylor 1960, 156). Later the *lex Aurelia iudicaria* of 70 BCE provided an extra nine hundred men drawn from senators, equestrians, and tribune aerarii, to compensate for the inequalities in the numbers of senators recorded in each tribe (Sherwin-White 1980, 292). The Fabia takes its name from the Fabii, one of the early patrician families in Rome (Livy II.43). In the early republic, people registered in the tribes that bore their name (Taylor 1960, p. 212). Prior to 30 BCE, all senators and the descendants of republican senatorial families and imperial senators retain the tribes of their ancestors; the tribe is placed in italics after the father's *praenomen* and before the *cognomen* but after the full name (Taylor 1960, 184).

It was customary that an adopted child could choose between his old or new tribe (Taylor 1960, 281). This was true of the emperors between Nerva and Hadrian, when each emperor became the adopted son of his predecessor. Augustus adopted the Scaptia tribe of the Octavii and the Fabia tribe of the Julii, but he had a special relationship with the Fabia tribe as he enfranchised many people, including members of eastern monarchies (Taylor 1960, 281). Sherwin-White (1980, 295) argues that many provincial subjects adopted Roman names without authorisation, and extensive enfranchisement of ordinary provincials is improbable in the early years after conquest and organisation of territories as provinces.

Listing the tribe on an inscription is therefore firstly a statement of Roman citizenship. The Fabia tribe was an ancient tribe and one that was associated with emperors and hence associated the members of the tribe who used it with Roman and imperial history. As noted earlier, there are numerous routes by which membership of the Fabia tribe could have been achieved, so it does not mean that these citizens were asserting Italian origin. Both Summerly (1992, 20) and Hall (2004, 48) assert that the Fabia tribe was the voting tribe associated with the colony of Berytus and Heliopolis. It is unclear why no other tribes were mentioned on any of the other inscriptions, although inscriptions naming tribes other than the Fabia tribe have been recovered from Berytus (Hall 2004, 48).

## 10.8 Conclusions: Life at Baalbek and in the Bekaa

The epigraphic, numismatic, and iconographic evidence are clearly important in what they tell us about the broader transformation of Baalbek-Heliopolis and the Bekaa valley brought about through the creation of the colonia. What

can we infer from them about the central themes of this book on the Roman transformation of the landscape? What we can say is that these inscriptions provide strong evidence of a significant change in the political landscape within which the process of change occurred. There are a few key points to make.

The first major conclusion is that the so-called Heliopolitan Triad did not exist in the form that has been commonly thought. There is no evidence to indicate a Hellenistic or Phoenician past. The three deities, Jupiter, Venus, and Mercury, are not syncretic forms of Hadad, Atargatis, or other Phoenician deities.

Secondly, there is direct evidence for private eugertism and public subscription providing some of the funding for buildings at Baalbek-Heliopolis. The inscriptions from the columns of the propylon to the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus confirm that this building at least was funded by donations. Of the other buildings, nothing can be said beyond the fact that several individuals clearly paid for statues to be set up and that these were intended to be part of the Great Courtyard. There is no direct evidence of imperial support from inscriptions. There is a body of evidence linking a number of emperors to Baalbek-Heliopolis, but whether imperial funds were involved cannot be determined. In my view this seems likely, but this remains conjecture. The highly unusual dedications by local client kings links Baalbek-Heliopolis firmly to imperial policy in the Levant in the first century. This, coupled with the evidence from Chapter 5 of the potential involvement of Herod the Great,[25] suggests royal patronage at the site by client kings with neighbouring territories, but this is again conjectural.

Links with the Roman Army are significant in several ways. The number of inscriptions relating to influential and important individuals in the context of the Roman Near East is significant. The number of careers recorded here demonstrates that important individuals either visited Baalbek-Heliopolis or saw it as a place where such inscriptions would be seen. After the foundation of the colony, we see individuals from Heliopolis taking a very active part in the life of the empire. The inscriptions also link Baalbek-Heliopolis to sites across the Roman world, to Roman North Africa and Spain. The fact that inscriptions are in Latin is no surprise given that Heliopolis was part of a Latin colony; however, the use of Latin language still marks a complete break with the past. For many of the veteran settlers, this would have not seemed unusual, but for those native to the Bekaa, this would have marked a major change. Furthermore, we should note that Latin was used as a medium for religious expression and as such would have moderated what could be said and written in a divine context.

25 See Roller (1998) for the Herodian building programme.

Finally, from the civilian inscriptions, we see the full range of contribution from all levels of society, from slave to senator. Some of the dedications reveal the key individuals and families who were responsible for the development of the colony, in one case through multiple generations.

Taken together these imply a rapid and complete transformation of the political and social landscape to one familiar in established provincial contexts across the Roman Empire.

CHAPTER 11

# Landscape and Religious Architecture in the Colonia

## 11.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the Temples within the landscape of the Bekaa valley and the environs of Berytus using viewsheds. It will examine the viewsheds and hence visibility and intervisibility of the three major religious sanctuary sites discussed earlier in the text, namely those at Deir el-Qalaa, Niha, and Baalbek-Heliopolis.

## 11.2 The Temples of Baalbek in the Landscape

Two viewsheds have been constructed from Baalbek, one for the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus and one for the Temple of Mercury. The remaining Temples at Baalbek have not been considered, as they cluster around the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus. The so-called Temple of Bacchus shares the site and orientation of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, although a substantial building is dwarfed by the neighbouring Temple and hence the viewshed was not judged to be sufficiently interesting on its own. The Temples that were probably dedicated to the Muses are across the road from the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus on a low-lying site and would not have been visible outside of the immediate vicinity given local urban development. The Temple of Mercury, however, sat on a much higher level atop the summit of Sheikh Abdallah Hill, and hence this is considered separately. The viewshed for the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus is illustrated in Figure 61, while that of the Temple of Mercury is shown in Figure 62.

The Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus was clearly visible from a considerable distance, as might be expected from such a large monument. It could be seen across the Bekaa valley and from a major part of the ridge of Mount Lebanon running along the western side of the valley. In theory, the line of sight is clear as far south as the ridgeline above the artificial lake Qaraoun. It clearly dominates the views from the northern Bekaa, which was the territory of the colonia. There are two natural approaches to the city of Baalbek, one from the southwest approaching up the Bekaa valley and entering Baalbek via Douris and

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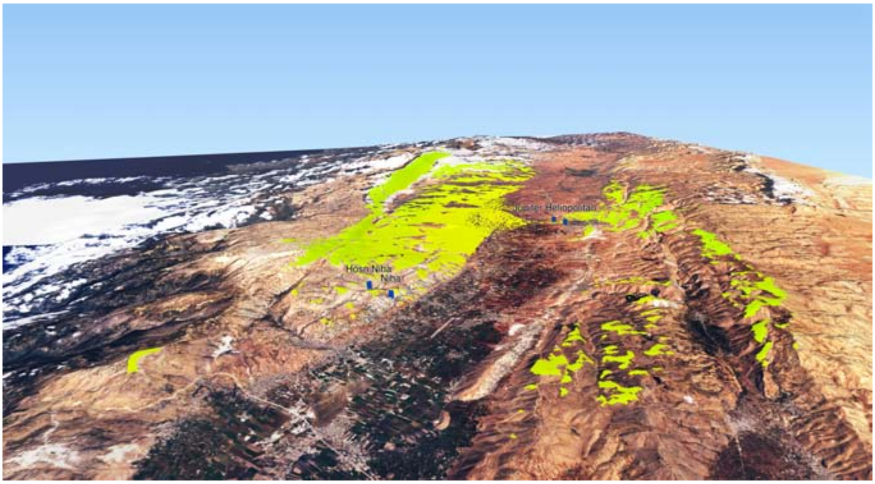


FIGURE 61 Viewshed for the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus at Baalbek. Areas where the Temple is visible shaded in green
IMAGE CREATED BY ANDREW LARCOMB, GIS

the second from the northwest via the monumental archway. Approaching from the south through the centre of the Bekaa, the Temple is not visible until one reaches the modern town of Majdaloun, around seven kilometers from Baalbek. Around 1.5 km from Majdaloun lies the prehistoric Tell Majdaloun (Ehrig 2006, 61). The Temple is visible for a short distance before disappearing around Douris. The disappearance from view is potentially significant and associated with the siting of the Roman cemetery at Douris. Douris is some distance from Baalbek and is not linked with any known settlement, and so it is unclear why a cemetery is located there. When one approaches Baalbek from the northwest from across the Bekaa valley, Baalbek is continuously visible. There were Roman roads leading to the sacred lake and Sanctuary of Venus at Yammoune on the eastern side of the Lebanon Mountains and to Afqa with its sanctuary dedicated to Aphrodite, and there may have been a road between the two (Skeels and Skeels 2000, 127). Baalbek would have been visible upon crossing into the Bekaa valley via this route, save for the valley containing Yammoune itself. The location of the Roman road through the northern Bekaa toward Emesa is not known; however, it clear that the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus would not be visible for most of this route.

The viewshed of the Temple of Mercury is very like that of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, as can be seen in Figure 63, where both viewsheds are overlaid. There are some areas close to Baalbek where the Temple of Mercury would have been visible and the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus would not,

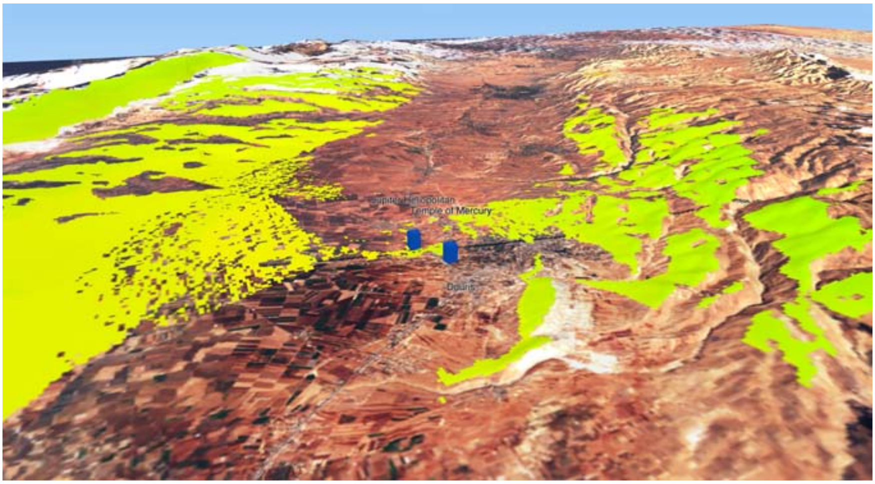


FIGURE 62 Viewshed for the Temple of Mercury at Baalbek. Areas where the Temple is visible are shaded in green.
IMAGE CREATED BY ANDREW LARCOMB, GIS

due to the local topography of Sheikh Abdallah Hill. The viewshed of the Temple of Mercury does not extend quite as far south as that of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus. It seems clear that the Temple of Mercury was deliberately placed on top of Sheikh Abdallah Hill to make the Temple visible and to ensure that it could be seen alongside the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus from virtually all vantage points. This appears to be an act of rivalry and shows the independence of the cult of Mercury "Heliopolitanus" from that of Jupiter Heliopolitanus.

Figure 64 shows the sites of Temples in the northern Bekaa valley that were intervisible with the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus at Baalbek. Only four confirmed Temple sites at Ksarnaba, Kasr el-Banat, Hadeth, and Deir el-Ahmar and the possible Temple site at Btedaai are intervisible with Baalbek. Of the group of Temples near Niha, only Ksarnaba shows intervisibility with Baalbek. At Deir el-Ahmar, the Church of Notre-Dame is situated on the podium of a small Roman Temple (Aliquot 2009a, 280). Nearby an altar was recovered identifying the Temple as dedicated to Jupiter Heliopolitanus (IGLS 2909), while a second altar dedicated to Hadad was also recovered (IGLS 2908). It is difficult to assess whether intervisibility with the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus at Baalbek was important to this location, Baalbek being 15 km away. The Temple of Apollo at Hadath (El-Hadet) would also have been intervisible with the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus at Baalbek, 16 km to the east of the site. Apollo is often associated with Helios (Burkert 1985, 149), and this may suggest a link with

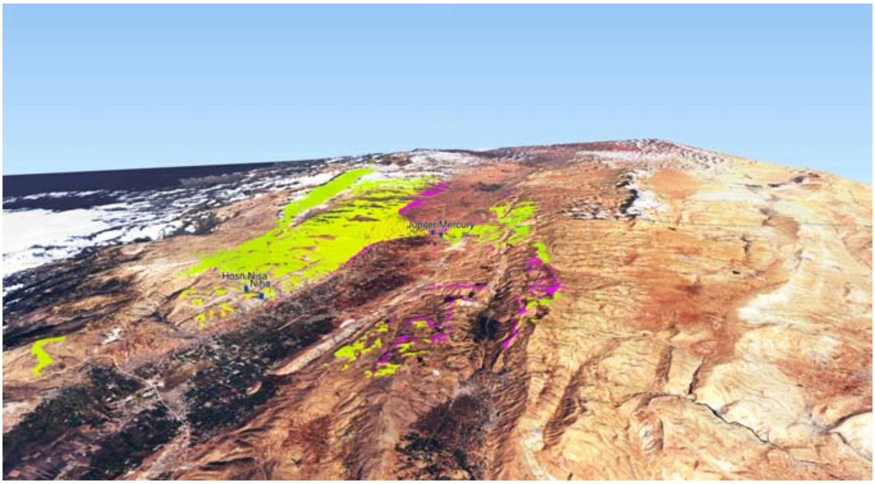


FIGURE 63 The viewsheds of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus (green) and the Temple of Mercury (pink)
IMAGE CREATED BY ANDREW LARCOMB, GIS

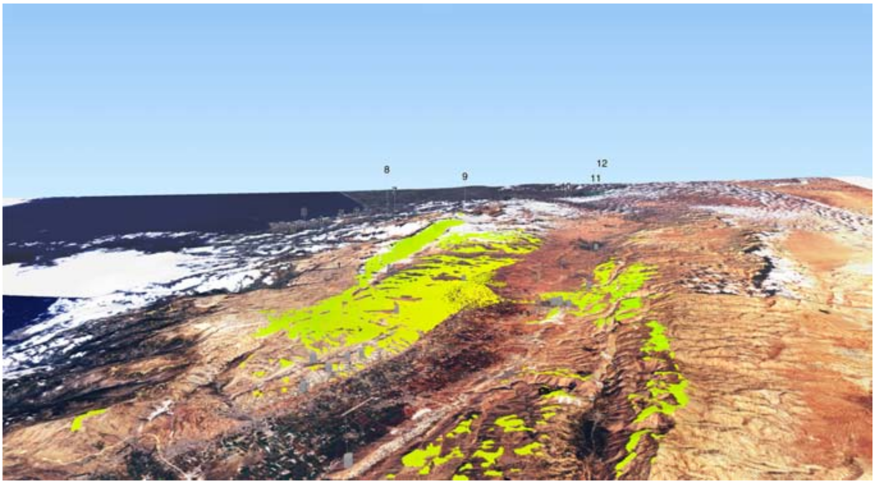


FIGURE 64 Intervisibility with the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus at Baalbek. The numbers on the figure correspond to the following sites: (1) Kfar Zabad, (2) Fourzol, (3) Hosn Niha, (4) Niha, (5) Temnin el-Faouqa, (6) Ksarnaba, (7) Hadeth, (8) Yammouneh, (9) Kasr el-Banat, (10) Baalbek, (11) Nahle, (12) Al-Labweh.
IMAGE CREATED BY ANDREW LARCOMB, GIS

FIGURE 65 The Niha group of Temples

Jupiter Heliopolitanus. The deities at Shlifa (Krencker and Zschietzschmann 1938, 152–155) and at Ksarnaba (Krencker and Zschietzschmann 1938, 148–151) are unknown. Shlifa lies 12 km to the northwest of Baalbek and on the southern edge of an escarpment and bordering an area where Baalbek would have been invisible. This hints that intervisibility with Baalbek may have been an element in the choice of location, although the orientation of the axis of the Temple is not directed toward Baalbek. Ksarnaba is much farther away at 22 km from Baalbek, which would have made it a distant sight. Not much is known about the site at Btedaai. The church contains some prominent pieces of Temple spolia, but the Temple site has been lost. Most of the area is intervisible with the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus.

## 11.3 The Temples of Niha in the Landscape

The Niha Temples were discussed extensively in Chapter 8. As can be seen from Figure 65, they form a small group with the Temples at Fourzol and Ksarnaba and the Nymphaeum at Tamnin el-Faouqa. The viewshed of the Great Temple at Niha is illustrated in Figure 66, and it is immediately clear that the viewshed is very narrow and that the Temple can only be seen from a narrow strip of land across the Bekaa and from the Anti-Lebanon mountains immediately opposite

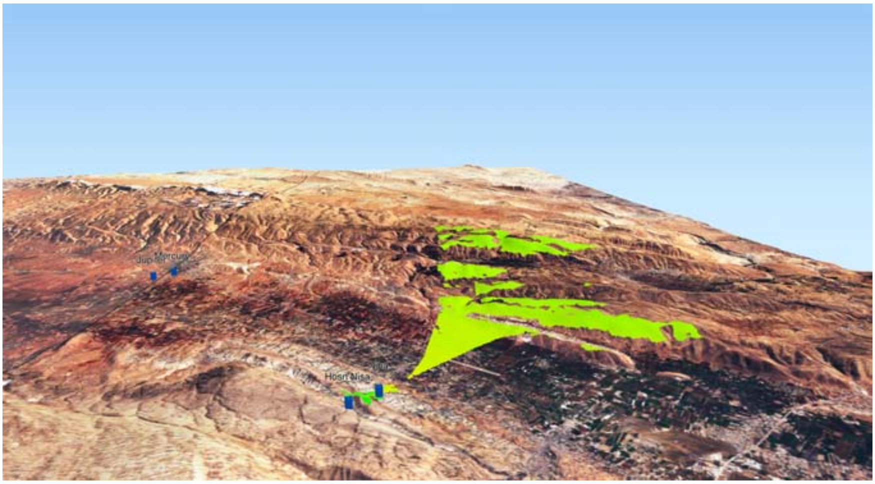


FIGURE 66 The viewshed of the large Temple at Niha
IMAGE CREATED BY ANDREW LARCOMB, GIS

the Niha valley. Approaching the Temples today, it is difficult to see them until arriving at the car park next to the Temples themselves, as they are hidden by trees and modern development. In the ancient past, they may also have been hidden by trees. Even if this were not the case, from the location of the modern road at the entrance to the valley, the Temples would not have been visible. Some locations on the side of the Niha valley would have given a view of the Temples, but the approach would have given no more than a few glimpses of the Temple until a few hundred metres from the site itself. The narrow valley and limited visibility of approach acts to add a sense of drama to visitors' arrival at the site. The narrow enclosed space around the Temples enhances the sense of the sacred. It is also clear from the viewshed that there was no intervisibility with any other Temple site, even with the neighbouring Temples of Hosn Niha farther up the valley. Niha stands in complete contrast to the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, while its Temples were both large structures, their presence was entirely local.

The Temples at Hosn Niha have the viewshed illustrated in Figure 67. The Temples are visible in the area immediately surrounding them and then from a small number of locations on the Anti-Lebanon mountains across the Bekaa. Effectively, they cannot be seen from the valley floor. Today the surrounding terrain is barren and rocky, lying largely above agricultural land of the Bekaa and the Niha valleys. It is not clear whether this was the case in the ancient past, but the Temple is placed at altitude and just across a geological terrain boundary. There are, however, modern terraces in the immediate vicinity. As was noted

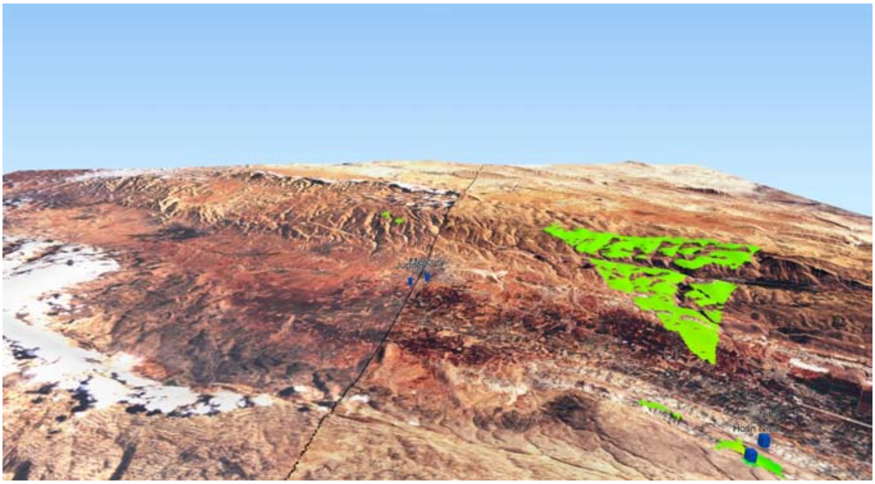

FIGURE 67 The viewshed of all the Temples at Hosn Niha
IMAGE CREATED BY ANDREW LARCOMB, GIS

in Chapter 7, the Temples sit within a shallow bowl-like area at the upper end of the Niha valley that gives the sense of an enclosed space surrounding them. As with the Temples of Niha, there is no intervisibility with any other Temple; they are hidden in the landscape, a "secret" known only to those who know their location and deliberately come to see them.

## 11.4 Deir el-Qalaa

The viewshed for the Temple at Deir el-Qalaa is shown in Figure 68. As might be expected from its location high above Beirut and directly above the Nahr Beirut river valley, it has a commanding view of the Beirut peninsula. The site would have been clearly visible from Berytus and indeed from ships approaching the port. The viewshed reconfirms the special nature of the sanctuary site at Deir el-Qalaa and its relationship with Berytus. The size and scale of the Temple complex, coupled with the viewshed and the wide variety of dedications from the site, allows us to confirm that this was the major sanctuary site associated with the city. At 10 km from the forum, it would have been possible to visit the site and return within a day, although at a height of 725 m above sea level, this would have been a moderately strenuous hike if on foot.

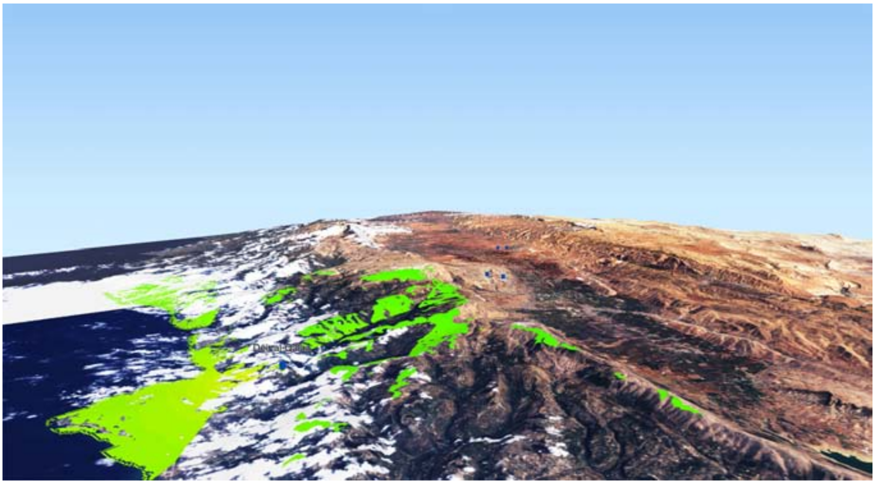

FIGURE 68 The viewshed for the Temple at Deir el-Qalaa showing intervisibility with Berytus
IMAGE CREATED BY ANDREW LARCOMB, GIS

## 11.5 Conclusion

The Temples of Niha and Hosn Niha present a complete contrast with the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus and the Temple of Mercury at Baalbek. Where the Baalbek Temples make a bold statement, and dominate the landscape of the northern Bekaa, the Niha Temples are overwhelmingly intimate in character. While the Temple complex at Hosn Niha is relatively modest by comparison, the two Temples at Niha are very substantial buildings, and the associated cult must have been widely known. Nevertheless, the Temples are in a "hidden" location. Whereas noted in Chapter 8, at Niha the principal deities worshipped were Hadaranes (Hadad) and Atargatis. These were both Semitic deities, in contrast to the Roman character of the Temples at Baalbek. The location and associated visibility and intervisibility (or lack of) appears to have been quite deliberate and hence directly associated with the religious practice at these locations.

The Temple at Deir el-Qalaa had a commanding view of Berytus, the peninsula, and the approaching sea lanes and as such would have been visible for miles around. It was clearly the principal sanctuary associated directly with the ancient city of Berytus.

CHAPTER 12

# Conclusion

## 12.1 Conclusions on Berytus, Deir el-Qalaa, Niha, and Baalbek-Heliopolis

At the conclusion of this study, it is important to assess the findings outlined in this monograph against the eleven objectives set for the study in Chapter 1. This will ultimately lead to an assessment of the extent to which the Colonia Iulia Augusta Felix Berytus and its eventual offshoot colony in Heliopolis were a Latin intrusion in the otherwise Greek-dominated Near East.

Chapter 2 reviewed the various sources for Berytus, Baalbek-Heliopolis, and the Bekaa. The archaeological record is, as expected, the primary source of information for all the sites considered. Baalbek-Heliopolis is the best studied of the locations, although as was seen, much of this work was done by the original German excavation team between 1900 and 1904 and is not up to modern archaeological standards. The recent work by the team led by van Ess has been vital to the understanding of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, but uncertainties remain; for example, there is no still certain location for the Roman forum in the city. The BCD Infrastructure Archaeological Project has transformed knowledge of Roman and pre-Roman Berytus to the extent that a detailed study of Berytus would have been impossible without it. Our information about the Roman city is strong, but there is little information about the hinterland that surrounded it in the Roman period. At Niha and Hosn Niha, the picture is mixed with recent work at Hosn Niha, revealing much new information about the village that was associated with the sanctuary. At Niha much is known about the sanctuary but almost nothing about the associated Roman settlement. Deir el-Qalaa remains somewhat enigmatic, with epigraphy being the most important source, as the main sanctuary site itself remains unexcavated. What is missing from archaeological work is large scale surveys of the Bekaa valley that might, for example, reveal evidence of centuriation. The small survey by Fischer-Genz (2016) in the vicinity of Baalbek illustrates what a larger-scale survey could possibly achieve.

Historical sources are limited, perhaps surprisingly so given the size of the Temple complex at Baalbek-Heliopolis. The primary source of historical information for the colonia is Josephus, but detailed information dated after his works is lacking. The earlier period for Berytus can be found in accounts by Polybius and Livy, with a small number of references to the city dating back

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into the Bronze Age in various sources. For Baalbek-Heliopolis, the account of the cult by Macrobius is valuable but potentially unreliable. Baalbek-Heliopolis and Berytus are references in the works of late-Roman writers, and Hall (2004) provides coverage of these works.

Epigraphic evidence is particularly valuable in the context of the Bekaa valley through the comprehensive coverage in Rey-Coquais (1967). As noted above, the large epigraphic collection from Deir el-Qalaa is invaluable and the main source for religious activity at the site. Unfortunately, the volumes of *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie* that will cover Berytus remain unpublished.

The archaeological study of religion and landscape were also reviewed in Chapter 2. Religion and ritual have been problematic elements within archaeology, as the chapter makes clear. However, in the context of studying the Near East, the concepts of *interpretatio Romana* and *Interpretatio Graeca* are invaluable but should still not be applied uncritically. The work of Kaizer (2008, 2006, 2016a, 2013) provides a broad critical overview of Near Eastern religion. The term "landscape" is similarly problematic in archaeology, but the chapter concludes that judicious use of postprocessual archaeologies of landscape, including landscape phenomenology, is valuable. Memory studies also prove useful in the context of landscape change.

The traditional view of Baalbek-Heliopolis as espoused by Ragette and Kalayan (Ragette 1980) of an ancient city with a cult centre that develops over a period of two millennia has been thoroughly rejected by this work. While settlement on the site has great antiquity, dating back to the Neolithic, the earliest evidence of cult practice is in fact the construction of the first podium. The archaeological evidence from the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus strongly favours a date around 25–20 BCE for this, with the likely involvement of Herod the Great. Earlier features identified by Kalayan as belonging to an ancient religious enclosure were, rather, Hellenistic defensive features, and the area of the enclosure contained houses until they were removed during the construction of the Great Court. The nonclassical Temple associated with the first podium was probably never completed, as no trace of a Temple building predating the Roman period has ever been found, nor have any spolia been identified from such a building. Until Zenodorus was deposed in 24–23 BCE, the northern Bekaa valley was likely under the control of the Ituraean tetrarchs as a Roman client kingdom, so it is possible that the remodelling of the city of Baalbek-Heliopolis began under the Ituraeans. Evidence is weak, however, and it is also possible that Ituraean cult of which the tetrarchs were high priests was centred near the Ituraean capital at Chalcis (Anjar). The construction of the first podium by Herod the Great in the territory of a different ruler makes no

sense, and hence the most likely explanation is that it was done either while Herod controlled the territory, as may have been the case between the fall of Zenodorus and the foundation of the colony, or in advance of the colonial foundation. Something happened to interrupt construction, which later proceeded with an even larger classical-style Temple.

The foundation of the Roman colony of Berytus-Heliopolis in 15 BCE was probably a direct response to banditry led by Zenodorus and Rome's perception of regional insecurity. The creation of the colony placed a valuable territory in the Near East under direct Roman control. The limited evidence from surveys does suggest that Roman technology allowed much greater exploitation of the Bekaa valley than had been possible previously.

The exact role of the Ituraeans at Baalbek-Heliopolis and Berytus and the extent of their influence is difficult to determine. The limited evidence suggests that Baalbek-Heliopolis was within Ituraean territory. The later burial of Zenodorus, son of Lysanias, tetrarch of Abilene, and a descendant of the original ruling family does suggest an Ituraean link to the city. Prior to Pompey's invasion in 64 BCE, the Ituraeans were likely the dominant group both in the Bekaa valley and on the Phoenician coast. Ituraean control of these areas followed the collapse of Seleucid authority, and indeed the cementing of Ituraean control may only have occurred following Pompey's invasion. It seems clear that the reported incident of Ptolemy, son of Menneus, giving a thousand talents to Pompey is likely a reflection of the formation of a client kingdom relationship between the Ituraeans and the Romans at this time.

Later, in the Roman colony, there is evidence for the continued presence of people with Semitic names, and perhaps these indigenous people were of Ituraean origin. The study of Niha and Hosn Niha shows that people with Semitic names and indigenous origins played an important role in the colony. Some, such as Narkisos, rose to high office. At Hosn Niha there is evidence of a mixed community of indigenous people and Roman colonists joining together to dedicate a monument to the local deity of the place. We also see individuals with Roman names adopting local funerary practices and giving their children Semitic names.

The foundation of the Roman colony in 15 BCE led to a period of largely continuous development of the city of Baalbek-Heliopolis and the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, although two key phases of development can be clearly identified. The first period followed the foundation of the colony and included the redevelopment of the first podium and the removal of its wing walls, leading to the construction of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus on a massive scale. Rather than being of Near Eastern style, the closest contemporary parallel for the Temple-court scheme design is the Forum of Augustus in Rome

with the Temple of Mars Ultor. A second Temple was constructed nearby and dedicated to the Muses. The design of this Temple has parallels in Italy and the Western Roman Empire, yet it also had a staircase to the roof in common with several Temples in the region. Furthermore, the cult practice of allowing the area to flood seems unique. The early Roman development of Baalbek-Heliopolis largely reflects influences from Italy and the West but with Near Eastern elements. The foundation of the colony led to a transformation of Baalbek-Heliopolis. The construction of a massive classical-style Temple was clearly an intrusive element in the region.

The second phase of development, from the Antonine period onward, is influenced by contemporary development in neighbouring cities. Baalbek-Heliopolis gained colonnaded streets and the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus gained its propylon, complete with towers, mirroring Temples in Damascus and Gerash. Baalbek-Heliopolis thus became similar in character to the neighbouring cities in the Levant. The monumental centre grew significantly with the addition of the so-called Temple of the Muses, while on the neighbouring hill that would later become known as Sheikh Abdallah Hill, a Temple dedicated to Mercury was constructed. A monumental stairway was constructed to carry processions from a feast hall located next to the large Roman baths constructed to the south of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus.

Farther south in the Bekaa valley, the sanctuaries at Niha and Hosn Niha developed in parallel. Both started with the construction of ante-style Temples in the first century before larger Temples were constructed during the second or third century CE. These larger Temples adopt the local Temple style, with interior staircases leading to the roof and raised and canopied adytons within the cella. There are some differences between the two sites, however. At Hosn Niha a separate double sanctuary of nonclassical design was constructed, representing continuity with earlier religious practice. Hosn Niha was undoubtedly a village sanctuary and lay at the centre of a small Roman vicus established around the beginning of the first century and continuing into the Byzantine period. The sanctuary at Niha was considerably larger than that at Hosn Niha and represented a regional centre for the worship of indigenous deities.

The Heliopolitan Triad has been a recurring theme in the literature of Jupiter Heliopolitanus. Many scholars through to the present have accepted the existence of the Heliopolitan Triad without question, save for Fergus Millar (1993, 282–285). This book, alongside the notable work of Kropp (2010, 2009, 2013), rejects the existence of the Heliopolitan Triad on the basis of the available epigraphic and iconographic evidence. It suggests rather that the triad is an artificial construct created by modern archaeologists. Connections between deities, including the Heliopolitan deities, did exist but were looser "constellations"

(Kaizer 2016a) rather than formal groups of deities or pantheons. Furthermore, there is no evidence to link Jupiter Heliopolitanus or the other deities worshipped at Baalbek-Heliopolis to preexisting Near Eastern deities such as Hadad and Astarte. By implication, the construction of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus most likely represents a new religious foundation rather than representing continuity from the pre-Roman past.

At Niha and Hosn Niha the deities were unambiguously indigenous in origin. Niha was a centre for the worship of Hadaranes and consort Atargatis, and a common group of priests and priestesses served both deities, including the priestess Hochmea. The presence of inscriptions from prominent citizens of the colony at Niha suggests that this was the main centre within the colony for the worship of indigenous Semitic deities. At Hosn Niha we do not know which deities the Temples honoured, but it is clear from a monument that the god Mifsenus was worshipped there. The two Temples of nonclassical design at Hosn Niha are unique in the region and enigmatic; it is unknown which deities were worshipped there or if the Temples represented any type of social division.

The funding of the Temples in the Bekaa is a critical question. The sheer scale of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus provokes questions of just who paid for the construction. The epigraphic evidence from Baalbek and the Bekaa provides some evidence of private euergetism but no direct evidence of imperial involvement. This does not mean that successive emperors were not involved. The image of Jupiter Heliopolitanus was shown on the cuirass of a statue at Carnuntum thought to be of Severus Alexander. Imperial involvement cannot be excluded, therefore. The evidence of the construction style of the first podium and its direct link to Herod the Great, coupled with the inscriptions relating to Herod Agrippa and Sohaemus, suggest that neighbouring client kings were directly involved as patrons of the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus. A variety of different sources of funds for the sanctuary seems likely.

At Niha and Hosn Niha we have evidence of local euergetism. At Niha the priest Tiberius set up the dedication to the high priest Narkisos, and the *pagus Augustus* set up a monument to Dea Syria of Niha. At Hosn Niha, nine officials set up a four-sided, colonnaded monument to the deity Mifsenus. These constructions were therefore probably funded by local benefactors.

At Berytus there is strong evidence of imperial involvement and euergetism by local client kings. Evidence from Josephus suggests that both Herod the Great and Agrippa II provided public buildings. Furthermore, an inscription recovered from the area close to the forum baths records the refurbishment of a building by Queen Berenice and Agrippa II. There is some suggestion of imperial euergetism, as the columns of the colonnaded streets were imported from

Egypt and fragments of architrave name Nerva and Trajan, suggesting that the emperor Trajan provided them. As for the remainder of the city, it is difficult to say who was responsible for the construction of public buildings.

Given the presence of veterans, it is reasonable to ask whether the Roman Army was involved at Berytus or Baalbek-Heliopolis. In fact, there is no evidence of direct military involvement in the construction of Temples at Baalbek-Heliopolis, although given the stylistic elements from the Western Roman Empire, this is not impossible. The evidence from inscriptions at Baalbek from serving military personnel, based in the region and across the Roman world, does suggest strong links with the Roman Army. The most notable example of this was the Temple to Jupiter Heliopolitanus at Carnuntum on the Danube, a site clearly associated with the Roman Army. There is also clear involvement of veteran settlers as is made clear from epigraphic evidence from sites such as Hosn Niha.

The chronology of development of the city Berytus has been revealed through the many excavations of the BCD Infrastructure Archaeology Project. Although Strabo claimed that the Romans restored Berytus after it was razed by Tryphon, there is in fact no evidence for either abandonment of the city in the Hellenistic period or for wholesale reconstruction after the foundation of the colonia. There are some destruction horizons that might be associated with Tryphon, but there is no firm dating evidence. The construction of the Roman city after the colonial foundation proceeded with some sympathy to the existing Hellenistic city. Some areas, such as the monumental centre with the forum and Cardo Maximus, were constructed without regard for earlier structures. However, the Decumanus Maximus was inserted into the city by destroying the Hellenistic fortifications, the only way the road could be inserted with minimum impact on surrounding buildings. A new Roman fortification was then constructed further south. Other areas of the city were constructed with little change to the Hellenistic road system. Commerce and agriculture developed during the Roman period, and there is evidence of production of ceramics and glassware.

Several phases of public building seem to have taken place at Berytus with a Roman hippodrome, theatre, and bathhouse in the first century CE. The hippodrome may have been the first of Roman type in the East. In the second century, the hippodrome was enlarged, and a new imperial-style baths complex replaced the earlier one next to the forum and was one of the largest such buildings outside Rome. Colonnades were also added to the Cardo Maximus and Decumanus Maximus, yet some areas of the city appear to have been in decline in this period. During the fourth century, there was a revival in domestic architecture, with the construction of large private houses and the further

aggrandisement of the colonnaded streets. It was around this time that the famous law school of Berytus grew to prominence.

As was noted in Chapter 6, the archaeological evidence for religious practice in Berytus itself is very limited. There are several possible Temple sites in the city, but none have been clearly identified as such or associated with specific deities. However, once epigraphic and numismatic sources are included, then a strong continuity with the pre-Roman past emerges. The main Hellenistic deities of Poseidon, Tyche, and Astarte continue to be worshipped in Roman Berytus. Jupiter Heliopolitanus and the other Heliopolitan deities appear but should be regarded as intrusive elements, deriving from the colonial context. Other deities, such as Liber Pater/Marsyas are also new Roman innovations.

The sanctuary at Deir el-Qalaa is a product of the Roman period, beginning with the construction of a large Temple dedicated to Jupiter Balmarcod in either the first or second century. The site was intimately linked with the city of Berytus and associated with religious practice in the city. The religious activity at the site is best understood in terms of *Interpretatio Romana*. Given the name Balmarcod, the main deity is clearly Semitic in origin, and there have been numerous attempts to interpret the deity. It seems likely that the consort of Jupiter Balmarcod, Juno, was worshipped in a Second Temple at the site. The Roman deity Mater Matuta was honoured in an inscription from the site. Mater Matuta is a relatively obscure Roman deity with a Temple in the Forum Boarium in Rome. Hence many scholars have associated this deity with Roman colonists. However, even this is ambiguous, as Mater Matuta can be linked with the Greek deity Leucothea, as Kaizer (2005) makes clear.

The GIS studies of the Bekaa and the Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus and the Temples at Niha and Hosn Niha presented in Chapter 11 show a clear distinction in character between the two sites. The Temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus and the Temple of Mercury at Baalbek-Heliopolis would have been visible from great distances, while the Temples of Niha are far more intimate in character and would only have been visible from a narrow region outside the valley containing them. The Temple of Mercury on Sheikh Abdallah Hill has a very similar viewshed to that of Jupiter Heliopolitanus, although a smaller Temple was clearly located for maximum visual impact. The Temple of Mercury can therefore be seen as a rival to that of Jupiter Heliopolitanus rather than as a junior member of a triad of deities. The construction of these Temples and the way they impose themselves on the visual landscape of the northern Bekaa is a clear element of the landscape transformation of the Bekaa.

## 12.2 Colonia Iulia Augusta Felix Berytus: A Latin Intrusion in the Near East?

This monograph has explored the development of the Colonia Iulia Augusta Felix Berytus, from 100 BCE to 400 CE, through the cities of Berytus and Heliopolis, as well as the sites at Deir el-Qalaa, Niha, and Hosn Niha.

The work has fundamentally challenged the previous paradigm, where Baalbek-Heliopolis was seen as a religious site dating from as early as the Bronze Age and associated with the worship of a Semitic or Phoenician deity triad of which Hadad and Astarte were the two key members. This study replaces the traditional picture with one of the development of a city in a Roman colony with a series of Temples dedicated to several independent deities, including Jupiter Heliopolitanus. There is no evidence to link these Temples and religious practice at Baalbek Heliopolitanus to earlier Semitic or Phoenician deities and no reason to believe that Baalbek-Heliopolis was an established religious centre prior to late first century BCE. Baalbek-Heliopolis certainly became a major religious centre, however, and the cult of Jupiter Heliopolitanus was certainly exported to other areas of the Roman Empire.

It is now clear that the colonia was almost entirely intrusive in character at Baalbek-Heliopolis. The landscape of the Bekaa valley was transformed. Baalbek-Heliopolis dominated the northern Bekaa valley with a new religious centre, which took much of its early architectural design motif from the Latin West rather than from the Near East. Over time Baalbek-Heliopolis gained a character more in keeping with its neighbouring cities, such as those of the Decapolis, but this was a later development and shows how the intrusive nature of the initial development declined steadily over time.

At Berytus, by contrast, there is evidence for continuity from the Hellenistic past as well as change under Rome. The deities that were worshipped in Hellenistic Berytus continued to be worshipped in Roman Berytus. At Deir el-Qalaa a Roman-style sanctuary was constructed with impressive views over the city and beyond, yet the deity honoured there was Semitic in origin. Some areas of the city were unchanged after the colonial foundation, and in other areas changes were made sympathetically. Nevertheless, the city acquired Roman public buildings, some of which were on a very large scale. The city may also have been the first to have a Roman-style hippodrome in the Near East. Intrusive is perhaps too strong a word to describe Roman Berytus, a city that was synergistic with the Hellenistic past. Reflecting back on the comments of Millar (1983) in the context of the Phoenician cities in the Hellenistic, we see much the same pattern continuing into the Roman period, with Berytus seamlessly becoming a Roman city.

At Niha and Hosn Niha, large Roman sanctuaries marked settlements that were most likely associated directly with the foundation of the Roman colony. Hosn Niha was a village and village sanctuary with settlement high up a sheltered valley made possible by Roman agricultural practice.

The deities at Niha and Hosn Niha were Semitic and retained their Semitic names in the bilingual inscriptions found at the sites. People with Roman and Semitic names joined together in the construction of monuments. Individuals with Roman names adopted Semitic names for their children. The picture at Niha and Hosn Niha is one of cooperative settlement of veterans and indigenous people.

APPENDIX A

# Location Tables for Beirut Excavations

TABLE 4 BCD Infrastructure Archaeology Project 1993–1995 site summary and references

| Site | Location | References |
|---|---|---|
| BEY 001 | South of Martyrs' Square | (Saghieh 1996a, b, Curvers 2013e) |
| BEY 002 | Martyrs' Square | (Bonifay 1996, Foy 1996, Curvers 2013e) |
| BEY 003 | North of Martyrs' Square | (Badre 1997) |
| BEY 004 | Zone of the Churches | (Masri 2005, Saghieh 1996a, c, Saghieh-Beidoun et al. 1998–1999, Sawaya and Rahal 1998–1999, Zuheir 1998–1999, 'Ala' Eddine 2003) |
| BEY 005 | National Evangelical Church | |
| BEY 006 | Beirut Souks | (Alpi 1996, Butcher 1996b, a, 2001–2002a, b, Evans 1996, Jennings 1997, Perring et al. 1996, Rackham 1996, Reynolds 2004, Seeden and Thorpe 1997–1998, Sheehan 1997–1998, Thorpe 1998–1999a, Williams 1997–1998, Jennings and Abdallah 2001–2002) |
| BEY 007 | Souks Area | (Kouly 1998–1999, Thorpe et al. 1998–1999, Jennings and Abdallah 2001–2002) |
| BEY 008 | Souks Area | (Curvers and Stuart 1996) |
| BEY 009 | Banco di Roma | (Marquis and Ortali-Tarazi 1996) |
| BEY 010 | Souks Area (North-East) | (Sayegh 1996, Jabak-Hteit 2003) |
| BEY 011 | Souks Area (East) | (Steiner 2001–2002) |
| BEY 012 | Saint Georges Cathedral of the Greek Orthodox | |
| BEY 013 | Souk el-Tawilé / South of Boulevard Georges Haddad | (Karam 1997, Sawaya and Rahal 1998–1999) |
| BEY 014 | West of Martyrs' Square | |
| BEY 015 | Boulevard Georges Haddad | (Reynolds et al. 2008–2009, Kowatli et al. 2006) |
| BEY 016 | Serail Baths | |
| BEY 017 | Souks Area | |
| BEY 018 | Iron Age Cemetery | (Curvers and Stuart 1997, Stuart 2001–2002) |
| BEY 019 | Rue Foch | (Curvers and Stuart 1997, Forest and Forest 1982) |
| BEY 020 | Site of the Former 'Byblos' Warehouse | (Finkbeiner and Sader 1997, Finkbeiner 1997) |
| BEY 021 | Souks Area | (Curvers and Stuart 1997) |
| BEY 022 | Between Beirut Trade Centre and Ancient Presidential Palace | (Curvers and Stuart 1997, de Jong 2001–2002) |
| BEY 023 | Avenue du Général Fouad Chéhab | (Curvers and Stuart 1997) |
| BEY 024 | Places Debbas | (Heinz and Bartl 1997) |
| BEY 025 | Riad es-Solh Square | (Curvers and Stuart 1997) |
| BEY 026 | Martyrs' Square | (Curvers 2013e) |
| BEY 027 | Martyrs' Square | (Arnaud, Llopis, and Bonifay 1996, Curvers 2013e) |

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TABLE 4 BCD Infrastructure Archaeology Project 1993–1995 (*cont.*)

| Site | Location | References |
|---|---|---|
| BEY 028 | West of the former Rivoli Cinema | (Curvers and Stuart 1997, Faraldo Victorica and Curvers 2002) |
| BEY 029 | Rue Argentine | (Curvers and Stuart 1997) |
| BEY 030 | Rue de l'Uruguay | (Curvers and Stuart 1997) |
| BEY 031 | Rue Weygand | (Faraldo Victorica and Curvers 2002, Curvers and Stuart 1997) |
| BEY 032 | Rue Azmi Bey | (Curvers and Stuart 1997, Jamieson 2011) |
| BEY 033 | Boulevard Georges Haddad | (Curvers and Stuart 1997) |
| BEY 034 | Western edge of Boulevard Georges Haddad | (Curvers and Stuart 1997) |
| BEY 035 | North of Hilton Hotel | (Curvers and Stuart 1997) |
| BEY 036 | North of Avenue Général Fouad Chéhab | (Curvers and Stuart 1997) |
| BEY 037 | South of Avenue Charles Helou | (Curvers and Stuart 1997) |
| BEY 038 | West of Beirut Trade Centre | (Curvers and Stuart 1997) |
| BEY 039 | Rue Allenby | (Elayi and Sayegh 1998, 2000, Marriner 2008) |
| BEY 040 | Rue Patriarche Houayek | (Curvers and Stuart 1997) |
| BEY 041 | Rue Ahmad Daouk | (Curvers and Stuart 1997) |
| BEY 042 | Rue A.H. Karamé | (Curvers and Stuart 1997) |
| BEY 043 | Wadi Abu Jmil and Minet el-Hosn | (Curvers and Stuart 1997, 2006) |
| BEY 044 | Avenue Général Fouad Chéhab | (Curvers and Stuart 1997) |
| BEY 045 | South of Rue Weygand (Imperial Baths) | (Butcher 2001–2002a, b, Mikati 2001–2002, Thorpe 1998–1999b, 1996) |
| BEY 046 | Corner of Rue Weygand and Rue Foch | (Faraldo Victorica and Curvers 2002) |
| BEY 047 | Marine base of the Lebanese Army | (Curvers and Stuart 1997) |
| BEY 048 | Martyrs' Square | (Mongne, Stephan, and Zarazir 2003, Curvers 2013e) |
| BEY 049 | Riad es-Sohl Square | (Curvers and Stuart 1997) |
| BEY 050 | Rue Omar Daouk (formerly Rue Georges Picot) | (Curvers and Stuart 1997) |
| BEY 051 | Rue Idriss | (Curvers and Stuart 1997, A.-C. 1995) |
| BEY 052 | East of Hotel Phoenicia | (Curvers and Stuart 1997) |
| BEY 053 | East of Hotel Phoenicia | |
| BEY 054 | Rue Al Maarad | |
| BEY 055 | Rue Ahmad Daouk | |
| BEY 056 | Rue Idriss | (Curvers and Stuart 2006) |
| BEY 057 | | |
| BEY 058 | Rue Amir Amine | (Curvers and Stuart 1997) |
| BEY 059 | Boulevard Georges Haddad | (Curvers and Stuart 1997) |

TABLE 5 BCD Infrastructure Archaeology Project 1995–1999 site summary and references

| Site | Location | References |
|---|---|---|
| BEY 060 | South of Rue Weygand | (Du Mesnil du Buisson 1921b, a, Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 061 | Boulevard Georges Haddad | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 062 | Boulevard Georges Haddad | (Bouzek and Musil 2008, Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 063 | Rue Fakhry Beik | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 064 | Rue Weygand | (Rifaï 1996, Curvers and Stuart 2006, 1999, Lauffray 1944–1945, Ghadban 1997) |
| BEY 065 | Suk Jamil (south) | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 066 | Martyrs' Square | (Curvers and Stuart 2006, 1999, Curvers 2013e) |
| BEY 067 | Rue Allenby (building 104) | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 068 | Rue Capuchins | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 069 | Martyrs' Square | (Bouzek 1996, Curvers 2013e) |
| BEY 070 | Nijmeh Square | |
| BEY 071 | Rue Al Omari Mousque | |
| BEY 072 | Wadi Abu Jmil | (Curvers and Stuart 1999, Curvers 2013d, 2011, 2015) |
| BEY 073 | Building 140 | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 074 | Building 144 | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 075 | Building 155 | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 076 | Wadi Abu Jmil Area | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 077 | Avenue Français | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 078 | Rue Cadmus | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 079 | Building 1068 | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 080 | Martyrs' Square | (Curvers and Stuart 2006, Curvers 2013e) |
| BEY 081 | Building 145 | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 082 | Building 221 | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 083 | Building 143 | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 084 | Rue Weygand | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 085 | Near the Anglican Church | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 086 | Martyrs' Square | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 087 | Building 1170 | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 088 | Rue Riad Solh | (Curvers and Stuart 1999, 2006) |
| BEY 089 | Rue Amir Bechir | (Curvers and Stuart 1999, 2006) |
| BEY 090 | Rue Tarablus | (Curvers and Stuart 1999, 2006) |
| BEY 091 | Building 1152 | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 092 | Building 1142 | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 093 | Building 1152/3 | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 094 | Lots 1049,1051, 1064 | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 095 | Rue de l'Armée | (Curvers and Stuart 1999, Curvers 1998) |
| BEY 096 | Lot 1342 | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 097 | Building 228 | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 098 | West of Medieval Castle | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 099 | Building 25 | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 100 | East of ESCWA-building | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |

TABLE 5 BCD Infrastructure Archaeology Project 1995–1999 (*cont.*)

| Site | Location | References |
|---|---|---|
| BEY 101 | Building 171 on Rue Allenby | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 102 | North end of Rue Riad Solh | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 103 | North of BEY 045 | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 104 | North of BEY 022 | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 105 | Rue Allenby | (Curvers and Stuart 1999, Malak 2002) |
| BEY 106 | Building 231 | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 107 | Building 1xx | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 108 | Martyrs' Square | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 109 | Martyrs' Square | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 110 | Building xxx | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 111 | | |
| BEY 112 | Building xxx | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 113 | East of St. Georges Cathedral | (Curvers and Stuart 1999, Curvers 2013a) |
| BEY 114 | Located between BEY 003 and BEY 020 | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 115 | Northern end of Martyrs' Square between BEY 002 and BEY 028 | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 116 | Rue Azmi Bey east of BEY 010 | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 117 | South or Roman Bath | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 118 | Rue Azmi Bey north-east of BEY 010 | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 119 | Lot 1487 | (Curvers and Stuart 1999, Davie 1987, Lauffray 1944–1945) |
| BEY 120 | Building 131 | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 121 | Lot 1500—Former Rivoli Cinema | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 122 | Southern end of Rue Capuchins | (Curvers and Stuart 1999, 2006) |
| BEY 123 | Block 23 | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 124 | Building 1144 | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 125 | Under an-Nahar Building | (Badre) |
| BEY 126 | Buildings 200 and 1155 | (Curvers and Stuart 1999, Lauffray 1944–1945) |
| BEY 127 | Lot 1484 | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 128 | Lot 1459 | (Curvers and Stuart 1999, Curvers 2013b, Curvers and Stuart 2006) |
| BEY 129 | North of BEY 113 | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 130 | Cliffs northwest of BEY 003 | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 131 | South of cliff and north of BEY 032 | (Curvers and Stuart 1999) |
| BEY 132 | Basement of building 581 | (Curvers and Stuart 1999, 2006) |

TABLE 6 BCD Infrastructure Archaeology Project 2000–2006 site summary and references

| Site | Location | References |
|---|---|---|
| BEY 133 | | |
| BEY 134 | Old finance department of the Municipality of Beirut | (Curvers and Stuart 2006) |
| BEY 135 | Basement of Building 47 | (Curvers and Stuart 2006) |
| BEY 136 | | |
| BEY 137 | Virgin Megastore | (Curvers and Stuart 2006) |
| BEY 138 | Lot 1341 due west of Beirut Souks (BEY 006–008) | (Curvers and Stuart 2006) |
| BEY 139 | Lots 1053, 1056, 1367 in Wadi Abu Jmil area | (Curvers and Stuart 2006) |
| BEY 140 | Basement of the *Grand Theatre* | (Curvers and Stuart 2006) |
| BEY 141 | Wadi Abu Jmil | (Curvers and Stuart 2006) |
| BEY 142 | | |
| BEY 143 | Allenby St. (lot 109) | (Curvers and Stuart 2006) |
| BEY 144 | NE corner of Allenby St. and Weygand St. | (Curvers and Stuart 2006) |
| BEY 145 | Crossing of Park Avenue and Omar Daouk Street (lots 1334 and 1335) | (Curvers and Stuart 2006) |
| BEY 146 | Lot 1381 (Eli Saab Fashion House) | (Curvers and Stuart 2006) |
| BEY 147 | Between north end of Allenby St. and Foch St (lots 107, 1465–1469, 1497) | (Curvers and Stuart 2006) |
| BEY 148 | Corner of Maarad St. and Emir Bechir St. | (Curvers and Stuart 2006) |
| BEY 149 | Soundings in area north of Grand Serail | (Curvers and Stuart 2006) |
| BEY 150 | Promontory near Santiyeh cemetery | (Curvers and Stuart 2006) |
| BEY 151 | Rue Amir Bechir, south of 'Zone of the Churches' | (Curvers and Stuart 2006) |
| BEY 152 | Gemayze 100 m SE of BEY 132 | (Curvers and Stuart 2006) |
| BEY 153 | South of Martyrs' Square | (Curvers and Stuart 2006) |
| BEY 154 | Site of Castle Square | (Curvers and Stuart 2006) |
| BEY 155 | Between France Street and Wadi Abu Jmil Street | (Curvers and Stuart 2006, Curvers 2013d, 2011, 2015) |
| BEY 156 | Crossing of Weygand Street, Patriarch Houayak Street, A.H. Karame Street and Bab Idriss | (Curvers and Stuart 2006) |
| BEY 157 | North of BEY 132 on crossing of Nahr Ibrahim Street and Boulevard Georges Haddad | (Curvers and Stuart 2006) |
| BEY 158 | Northern end of Garden of Forgiveness | (Curvers and Stuart 2006, Lauffray 1944–1945) |
| BEY 159 | Crossing of Wadi Abu Jmil Street and Alliance Street | (Curvers and Stuart 2006, Curvers 2011) |
| BEY 160 | Southern end of Martyrs' Square | (Curvers and Stuart 2006) |
| BEY 161 | Due north of Capuchin Church | (Curvers and Stuart 2006) |
| BEY 162 | Under the Saifi Khan, Saifi Village area | (Curvers and Stuart 2006) |

TABLE 6 BCD Infrastructure Archaeology Project 2000–2006 (*cont.*)

| Site | Location | References |
| --- | --- | --- |
| BEY 163 | South of General Fuad Chehab Avenue opposite Beirut Trade Centre | (Curvers and Stuart 2006) |
| BEY 164 | | |
| BEY 165 | | |
| BEY 166 | | |
| BEY 167 | Between Wadi Abu Jmil Street and France Street | (Curvers and Stuart 2006) |

APPENDIX B

# Macrobius 1.23.10–26

[10] The Assyrians too, in a city called Heliopolis, worship the sum with an elaborate ritual under the name of Jupiter, calling him "Zeus of Heliopolis." The statue of the god was brought from the Egyptian town also called Heliopolis, when Senemur (who was perhaps the same as Senepos) was king of Egypt. It was taken to Assyria first (by Opias the ambassador of Delebor, king of the Assyrian, and by Egyptian priests the chief of whom was Partemetis), and, after it had been for some time in Assyria, it was later moved to Heliopolis. [11] Why this was done and how it came about that, after leaving Egypt, the statue has reached the place where it now is and is worshiped with Assyrian rather than with Egyptian rites I have omitted to mention, because the matter has no bearing on our present topic. [12] However, the identification of this god with Jupiter and with the sun is clear from the form of the ceremonial and from the appearance of the statue.

The statue, a figure of gold in the likeness of a beardless man, presses forward with the right hand raised and holding a whip, after the manner of a charioteer; in the left hand are a thunderbolt and ears of corn; and all these attributes symbolize the conjoined power of Jupiter and the sun.

[13] The Temple is held in remarkable awe too as the seat of an oracle, such divination pointing to a faculty of Apollo, who is identified with the sun. For the statue of the god of Heliopolis is borne in a litter, as the images of the gods are carried in the procession at the Circensian Games, and the bearers are generally the leading men of the province. These men, with their heads shaved, and purified by a long period of abstinence, go as the spirit of the god moves them and carry the statue not of their own will but whithersoever the god directs them, just as at Antium we see the images of the two goddesses of Fortune move forward to give their oracles.

[14] The god is also consulted from a distance, by the sending of sealed letters, and he replies, in order, to the matters contained in the question put to him. So it was that the emperor Trajan, too, when he was about to march with his army from the province of Syria into Parthia, was urged by friends of the most steadfast piety, who had reliable experience of the power of the god, to consult him about the issue of the undertaking. With typically Roman prudence the emperor, by a preliminary test of the trustworthiness of the oracle, took steps to thwart the possibility of hidden human trickery, and begun by sending scaled tablets with a request for a written reply. [15] To the surprise of the priests, who were, of course, unaware of the nature of the emperor's tablets, the god bade a sheet of papyrus be brought and ordered it to be sealed, without any writing on it, and dispatched. When Trajan received the document he was filled with

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astonishment, since the tablets which he had sent to the god also had had no writing on them; [16] and he then wrote and sealed other tablets, to ask whether he would return to Rome after the war was over. The god thereupon bade a centurion's vine branch be brought from among the dedicated offerings in the Temple, broken in pieces, and the pieces wrapped in a napkin and sent thus to the emperor. When Trajan's bones were brought back to Rome after his death the meaning of the oracle's response was clear, for the emperor's remains resembled the pieces of the vine branch, and the vine branch itself [as a centurion's staff] indicated the time of the event which would befall [namely, in time of war].

[17] That the discourse may not wander too far afield, by mentioning all the gods by name, let me tell you what the Assyrian believe about the sovereignty of the sun. To the god whom they revere as highest and greatest of the gods they have given the name of Adad, a name which, being interpreted, means "One One." [18] Him, then, they worship as the most powerful god, but they associate with him a goddess called Adargatis, and to these two deities, by whom they understand the sun and the earth, they ascribe full power over all things. And, instead of using a number of names to express the power shared by these deities in all its forms, they indicate the manifold pre-eminence of this twofold godhead by the attributes which each deity bears. [19] These attributes of themselves tell of the nature of the sun; for the statue of Adad is distinguished by rays which point downward, to show that the might of heaven is in the fays which pour down from the sun to the earth, but the statue of Adargatis is distinguished by rays which point upward, to show that everything that the earth brings forth owes its birth to the power of the rays sent from above. [20] Under the statue of Adargatis are figures of lions, to indicate that the goddess represents the earth, on the same principal as that by which the Phrygians have represented the Mother of the Gods, that is to say, the earth, in a car drawn by lions.

[21] Finally, the theologians point out that the sovereignty of the sun answers to the sum of all the powers that be, and this is shown by the short prayer which they use in their ritual, saying:

o Sun, Ruler of all, Spirit of the world, Might of the world, Light of the world.

[22] And in the following verses Orpheus too bears witness to the all-embracing nature of the sun:

Hear, O Thou who dost, wheeling afar, ever make the turning circle of thy rays to revolve in its heavenly orbits, bright Zeus Dionysus, Father of sea, Father of land, Sun, source of all life, all-gleaming with thy golden light. (Macrobius, tr. Davies 1969)

# Glossary

*Propylon* Monumental gateway in Ancient Greek Architecture

*Cella* Inner chamber of a Temple

*Temenos* Piece of land off from common use dedicated to a God

*Stele* Wooden or stone erected as a monument

*Exedra* Semi-circular recess or a plinth

*Pycnostyle* One of the standard types of intercolumniation that is one and a half column diameters.

*Peristyle* A porch formed by a row of columns surrounding a courtyard

*Adyton* The restricted area within the Cella of a Roman Temple or Greek Temple

*Niche* Exedra or apse that has been reduced in size

*Portico* Porch leading to the entrance of a building extended by a colonnade

*In situ* On site

*Spolia* Repurposed building or reused decorative sculpture from another monument

*Peribolos* Enclosure wall or fence

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